The Nation.

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The Week.

THE report of the Tariff Conference Committee was a division of spoils such as takes place in some parts of the world in caves after a successful raid on the travelling public. The Binding-Twine Trust gets seven-tenths of a cent per pound, instead of one and one-fourth; but, as a compensation for this moderation in taxing the farmers, the duties on other kinds of twine and cordage are raised to one and three-fourths cents per pound, which is one-fourth of a cent higher than either house had agreed to. The sugar question was settled by the conferees making all sugar above No. 16—that is, all that has been passed through a refinery—dutiable at one-half cent per pound, and an extra one-tenth for any sugar from countries that pay a bounty, either directly or indirectly; the Secretary of the Treasury to determine whether a bounty is paid or not. A bounty is to be paid on domestic sugar of 2 cents per pound on sugar testing ninety degrees, and 1¾ cents on that testing between eighty and ninety. The provision regarding the free admission of tin plate in case the domestic production does not exceed one-third of the consumption, is amended by postponing the date of that boon till 1897. The duty on metallic tin of four cents per pound is not to take effect until 1893, and is to come off in 1895, unless the domestic production at that time has amounted to as much as 5,000 tons in a single year. The reciprocity clause is postponed to January 1, 1892, after which time, but not before, the taxing power of Congress on the articles of sugar, tea, coffee, and hides, is transferred to the President of the United States. The bill is a dreadful hotch-potch, but through it all can be discerned the robbery of the people for the benefit of special interests and classes in a higher degree and more brazen fashion than even in the Tariff of Abominations of 1828. The reduction of the revenue is estimated by the conferees at $66,000,000. Whether this will produce a deficit in the Treasury or not, the report does not say.

There is something truly pathetic in Senator Sherman's appeal to the protected Trusts and "combines" not to take advantage of the McKinley tariff, but to break up and go to competing with each other like good fellows The Trusts and "combines" began their operations under the shelter of the tariff three years ago, the Sugar Trust being the first in the field. Then came the Lead Trust, followed by the Cotton-Bagging, the Binding-Twine, the Plate-Glass, the Linseed-Oil, the Window-Glass, and ever so many more. The Republican newspapers began to threaten them with all sorts of penalties if they did not desist, and Senator Sherman made a speech in which he said that he should have no hesitation in voting to remove all duties from any article which was made the subject of monopoly in this manner. Yet not only have the duties on the trusted articles not been repealed in a single instance, not even on sugar, but in many cases (notably linseed oil and cotton bagging) they have been increased. And now Senator Sherman himself votes for these things, and then gets up in the Senate and solemnly warns these "combines" not to take the plums thrown into their laps, but to separate and compete vigorously with each other, because if they do not, he (Sherman) will some day "be as ready to vote for the repeal of this law as he is now ready to vote for it." We can imagine the derision with which this speech will be received by the Trusts.

There is an ingenious method of settling disputes about money which is in very common use, and which is known as "splitting the difference." A claims that B has borrowed five dollars of him which never has been repaid; B claims either that he never had the money or that he has returned it. The dispute is referred to a third party as arbitrator. B either owes five dollars or he owes nothing, but the arbitrator saves himself the trouble of investigating the facts by "splitting the difference," and decides that B must pay two dollars and a half, and that A must receive it as payment in full of his claim. Having thus certainly wronged one party or the other to the extent of half the sum in dispute, he departs contented, and everything is well. On this venerable principle the Conference Committee has settled the question of the tariff on works of art. The House having voted for free art and the Senate for the continuance of the old rate of duty, the matter came before the Committee with the other disputed clauses of the Tariff Bill. The House conferees were naturally committed to free art, while of the Senate conferees, four, viz., Messrs. Aldrich, Sherman, Hiscock, and Carlisle, had given assurance that they favored it. The advocates of free art felt that the matter was in the hands of their friends and awaited the decision with considerable confidence. Alas! they had not reckoned on this ancient and honorable method of settling a dispute. The Senate had voted for 30 per cent. and the House for no duty at all. The Conference Committee "split the difference," and gave themselves no further trouble in the matter. No more flagrant instance has been seen of the lack of any rational principle in our tariff-tinkering than this compromise. It is wrong from every conceivable point of view, and can please no one.

Mr. P. Henry Smith puts the following question to us:

"Why is it that all industrial Europe at the present time is actually in a demoralized state because of the passage by the American Congress of a measure which is known as the McKinley Bill? Do we legislate for the United States or for the countries of Europe?"

A short answer to this question may be found on pages 164 and 165 of the last volume of our Diplomatic Correspondence, where Secretary Blaine sends to Minister Reid at Paris the resolutions of the Chicago Board of Trade in reference to the exclusion of our pork products from France and Germany. The resolutions say that "whereas, under this legislation, our exportation of hog products has diminished in value from $104,000,000 in 1881 to $59,000,000 in 1888," etc., etc., our Government is urged to take steps to remove the exclusion and reopen those markets to us. Now, what kind of an argument or answer should we consider it to be if Minister Ribot or Chancellor von Caprivi should say: "Why is it that America is actually demoralized at the present time by our pork decrees? Do we legislate for ourselves or for the United States?" Secretary Blaine, as the correspondence shows, thought that legislation which restricted our sales and their purchases was injurious to both, and this view was pressed with considerable vehemence by Mr. Reid in his communications to the French Minister. Perhaps Mr. P. Henry Smith had better address his future communications to the *Tribune*.

Since the passage of the Tariff Bill in the Senate the subject of chief concern, judging from the shower of petitions and memorials pro and con, is the Conger Lard Bill. This is another bill to protect one particular industry at the expense of another, or of several others. It is not a bill to prevent deception of the buyer of lard, but to put such obstacles in the way of selling mixtures of lard and cotton-seed oil as will give a great advantage to the producers of lard. The manufacturers of "lard compound" have no objection to a law requiring them to brand their packages so as to distinguish it from pure lard. In fact, they adopted in their business the brand "Lard Compound" two years ago. Nor have they any objection to the most stringent law against unwholesome food products. What they do object to is a lot of jesuitical provisions in the bill which fix the amount of lard compound that may be sold at one time, or in one kind of package, and prohibit the use of wooden pails or buckets, or tin cans or caddies, etc., etc. These provisions are plainly intended for other purposes than the prevention of fraud or injury to health. A more honest way of creating a monopoly would be to enact that the manufacturers of lard compound shall pay one cent or two cents per pound of all they make to the producers of lard, or, more specifically, to John P. Squire & Co. of Boston.

Republican newspapers are discussing the evil of absenteeism in Congress, which has never before reached such alarming proportions as during the present session. "It has become a serious question," says the New York *Tribune*, "how to cure this great evil of neglect of duty by Representatives." One obvious remedy would be to remove the

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immediate cause, which is the assumption by the Speaker of the power to say that there is a quorum present. Democrats cannot be expected to be regular in their attendance when their presence is seized upon as a means of forcing the passage of measures to which they are opposed; and Republicans are naturally lax when they reflect that "Tom" Reed can count a quorum if he chooses, whether they are in the chamber or not. The effectual cure for this evil is the adoption of a rule for the House of Representatives like that embodied in the Constitutions of New York and many other States, which requires that a majority of all the members shall be present and vote yea in order to pass any measure. If the dominant party has but a narrow margin, as commonly happens to the Republicans in the New York Assembly, it must keep nearly every member in his seat or it can pass no measure to which the Democrats are opposed, because 65 of the 128 members must vote yea in order to pass any measure. There is never any serious trouble about absenteeism in the New York Legislature under this just rule, and there would be none in Congress if it were adopted in that body.

"Turn about is fair play." The House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress, with Idaho and Wyoming represented, will have 332 members. Suppose that the Democrats elect 170, while the Republicans have but 162, and that the Democrats organize the body. Suppose that a number of seats are contested. Suppose that a partisan Democratic Committee on Elections reports in favor of unseating a Republican whose claim to his seat is so strong that a fair-minded Democrat feels constrained to make a speech opposing what he styles the "ridiculous proposition" that the Democratic contestant ought to be seated on a claim which "would not be considered by any court in any State of the Union for one moment." Suppose that other Democrats are known to share this view, and to be so averse to carrying out the scheme that several of them will refuse to vote to seat the Democratic contestant, so that it is doubtful whether a majority of the 332 members can be found who will answer yea on the roll-call. Supposing all this, does anybody believe that a Republican newspaper in the United States would maintain for one moment that the Democratic Speaker ought to have the power of compelling Republican members to enter the chamber in order to secure a quorum, and then of making their presence as effective towards consummating the outrage as though they voted in its favor? Yet that is precisely the point which was involved in the Venable-Langston controversy, with the simple change of party relations. Every fair-minded Republican will concede that the supposititious case in the Fifty-second Congress would be intolerable. All that the Democrats claim is, that the actual case in the Fifty-first Congress is equally intolerable.

The official report of the proceedings in the House of Representatives on Tuesday week, when that body unseated a member holding a certificate of election from the Governor of his State, and put another man in his place, should receive the careful attention of every thoughtful reader. That such action could be taken without a word of debate; without the reading of the Committee's report; without even "a statement of the reasons for the seating of this man," when a conscience-stricken Republican ventured to ask for it; without a verification of the presence of a quorum when the Speaker's dictum was questioned—would seem incredible if it had not really happened. Fifteen years ago Mr. Blaine declared that "the moment you clothe your Speaker with power to go behind your roll-call and assume that there is a quorum in the hall, you stand on the very brink of a volcano." Are we not so standing when the *Congressional Record* reports such a substitution of brute force for the orderly methods of parliamentary government?

The final action of the House on Mr. Kennedy's famous Quay speech amounts to a suppression of it in the permanent edition of the *Congressional Record* of one date, and allowing it to stand in the same edition of a subsequent date. If this is a satisfactory result to Quay, he must be singularly constituted. Furthermore, the final vote was far from being even a party vindication, for thirty-two Republicans voted against the expunging of the speech, thus taking the ground that Mr. Kennedy's characterization of the leader of the party as a "Judas Iscariot" and a "branded criminal" was not a censurable, but an entirely just and proper performance. Mr. Kennedy himself was not at all quelled by the act of suppression, but declared his willingness to stand before the people of the country on the speech as he first delivered it, with entire confidence that his words would be approved. We are quite sure that he will not be asked by the Republicans to stand before the people in Pennsylvania or anywhere else in order to get a verdict on his words.

The Republican managers in Pennsylvania had good cause for the anxiety which they revealed in advance concerning the character of Senator Emery's speech against Delamater, the Republican candidate for Governor, which was delivered at Bradford on Friday. The speech is one of the most crushing indictments ever made against a candidate of a great party for high office. It should be remembered that Senator Emery is a Republican of life-long party loyalty, with no "taint" of Mugwumpism or independence of any kind. He speaks against his party's candidate now because he believes him to be a dishonest man, having given notice, in advance of his nomination, that he would do so if he were thrust upon the party by Quay. He sums up his indictment of Delamater in the following three charges:

"I charge that he procured his election to the Senate of this State in 1886 by improper means; that he procured by improper means citizens of Crawford County to vote for him at the general election, and that, when a memorial had been contemplated to be presented to the Senate of the State to prevent him from taking the oath of office, he paid large sums of money for the suppression of said memorial. I charge that he did take the oath of office, thereby committing a crime against the good name and statutes of the Commonwealth.

"I charge, also, that during his service in the Senate he attempted to alter a public record, by framing a conference report on a bill before it had been properly considered, contrary to all rules and practice, signing or having had signed the names of the alleged members of the Committee, and in so doing offended the dignity of the Legislature and the laws of the Commonwealth. I make these charges without fear of successful denial, and I court an action at law, whereby I may place my proof before the people oath-bound."

In support of these charges, Mr. Emery offers a great array of evidence, some of which is already in the form of affidavits, and some of which he presents without giving the names of the witnesses, merely speaking of them as X., Y., and Z., but promising to produce them in person if he is summoned into court to sustain his charges. This is a wise movement on his part, for if he had revealed their names, the Quay-Wanamaker managers would have had no trouble in getting all the liars they desired to swear in the newspapers to the contrary effect. As the matter stands now, Senator Emery must be called into court, or his charges must be allowed to stand uncontradicted. They leave the Republican campaign in Pennsylvania in a more disreputable condition than ever. With their platform warmly endorsing a public thief and "branded criminal," and with a man at the head of their ticket arraigned by an honorable member of their own party as a briber, perjurer, and forger, the Republicans have a pretty heavy burden to carry.

The answer which Quay's candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, Delamater, makes to Senator Emery's charges that he is guilty of bribery, perjury, and forgery, is: "I wish to say, with the fullest force and vigor of my voice, that they are wilful and malicious lies." His answer to Senator Emery's invitation to come into court and have the charges tried on the evidence which the latter is ready to produce, is: "No man lives in Pennsylvania who thinks more of probity of character in social, political, and business life than your candidate for Governor. His reputation rests in the confidence of his people, as evidenced by his overwhelming nomination and election for Senator, and in the subsequent testimonial of their approval and esteem in his nomination for the highest office in the Commonwealth." That is called by the Philadelphia *Press* "branding Emery's charges," and it may be regarded in that light in Pennsylvania. Viewed from this part of the country it looks like a very weak evasion, and as being much feebler as a defence against unanswerable charges than the weapon which the *Press* is accustomed to use with such telling effect in similar emergencies, and which it has frequently used in behalf of Quay. That is, to say flatly that the real motive of the charges is a desire to break down the protective tariff. That covers everything. If

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Delamater had declared boldly his belief that Senator Emery is a free-trader in disguise, and is very likely bribed by Cobden-Club money to take the course he is pursuing, there would not have been a particle of doubt about the charges being thoroughly "branded."

What must be the feelings of Quay and Wanamaker when they find the name of Robert Ellis Thompson among the supporters of Pattison in the present campaign in Pennsylvania? Mr. Thompson is the Professor of Protection for the United States of America. After he signed the Independent address, there was no excuse for anybody to say that the issue before the people of the State was a tariff issue, because that would imply that the pupils know more than the master, which is absurd. Quay, Delamater, and Wanamaker are the catechumens of Thompson in the school of protection. If the latter says that "there is but *one issue* in this campaign: purity of the ballot, fair elections, honest and courageous men in office, clear administration of public affairs are and always will be supreme questions in a republic," it is not open to Quay to say that the true issue in the State is protection to home industry. Leave Prof. Thompson and Henry C. Lea to take care of that.

There is a touch of Quayism about the latest Republican scandal at Washington. It has been revealed that the Postmaster of the House, J. L. Wheat, a protégé of the Speaker, let the contract for carrying the mails for $5,000, on condition that the contractor should pay back to him $150 a month for his kindness in awarding him the contract. Wheat admits having received five monthly payments, or $750, in this way; but when an investigation was called for on Thursday, a Republican member, Caswell of Wisconsin, came forward with the defence that the practice of receiving money in this way "had obtained during several Congresses," that Wheat had fallen in with it without sufficient thought as to its character, but that he had now become convinced that "the money was not a proper and legitimate perquisite, and had, therefore, covered every dollar into the Treasury." That is, as he had, under fear of discovery, paid back into the Treasury what he had taken without warrant, there was nothing to investigate, since no offence had been committed. The House was not quite prepared to take this view, but amended the proposed resolution of inquiry into Wheat's conduct so as to include the conduct of his Democratic predecessors, and then adopted it. According to this view, Wheat's thievery will be made less heinous provided it can be shown that he merely followed the bad example of his Democratic predecessors in committing it.

The nomination of Sherman Hoar as the Democratic candidate for Congress in a Massachusetts district is significant of the drift towards that party among intelligent men of the younger generation. Mr. Hoar is a son of the ex-Attorney-General and a nephew of the Senator; he was bred a Republican; he is a fair type of the large class of young men belonging to the families of good standing who used to be set down without inquiry as Republicans. A quarter of a century ago the Republican party of Massachusetts was preëminently "the respectable party," and so the one towards which young men were inclined to drift. As the Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says: "It has been the feeling of the Republicans for a generation that they contained most of the respectability of the State, and that it was not honorable for a man to belong to the Democratic party." But a change has come, and the same correspondent says that now "the men who are at the front of the Democratic party ask no odds of the Republicans as regards standing in the community, and the old stigma which adhered to the Democracy in the days of the war, when most of us were taught to believe that a Democrat was as bad as a horse-thief, is rapidly being removed from the minds of the younger generation. The principles which the Democrats have proclaimed this year, in contrast with those promulgated by the Republicans, will draw to the party many who believe the Democrats are right, but who have felt that they would forfeit some of their social or business standing if they should become affiliated with the Democrats." Another illustration of changing conditions in New England is the nomination on the Democratic ticket in Massachusetts for Secretary of State of a farmer who was formerly a good Republican, but has become convinced that the interests of the farmer will be promoted by a reform of the tariff.

The eleemosynary theory of public office, as a means of support for ne'er-do-weels, has received its most striking illustration in the case of Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks. For a generation past it has been recognized by both parties in Massachusetts as a solemn duty to provide this "old public functionary" with a salary out of the public treasury, and the Democrats have discharged their share of the obligation as scrupulously as the Republicans. The Republicans, however, have at last grown weary, and the Congressional Convention in his district has just refused the General a renomination. If the Democrats had any offices to give just now, a hopeful appeal would undoubtedly be made to them, as it is their "turn"; but they have none. Indeed, unless both parties will join hands and pass a proposed bill placing him on the retired list of the army, it looks as though he had drawn his last official salary. It is melancholy, of course, to see a poor old gentleman deprived of what seems his only possible means of support, but it is a travesty on our theory of government to give the place of Representative in Congress to one whose only qualification is that he needs the pay.

The career of Gen. Banks affords an illustration of the change which has come over the public mind as to candidates for office. The present generation knows him only as a political relic, but he was a great figure thirty to forty years ago—Chairman of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, Speaker of the House of Representatives at Washington, and then Governor of his State. It was as "the bobbin boy" that he first came to be known, just as Henry Clay used to be styled "the mill-boy of the slashes," for he had been a poor boy and worked in his youth in a cotton-factory, giving all his spare time to reading and study, according to the old formula by which merit conquered the obstacles of poverty. We do not have "bobbin boys" as candidates for public office in these days; we do not confer place as the reward of fitness attained by industry; we do not point to a man who has been made Governor or Senator, and say to the poor boy, "You see there an example of what you may become if you will work hard, use your spare time in study, and render yourself so conspicuously qualified for a public trust that your fellow-citizens will confer it upon you." The question nowadays is, "How big a pile has he, and how much will he put up if we nominate him?"

The latest developments of the local political situation are all encouraging. In the first place, Tammany is visibly alarmed, and is calling through its solitary organ in the city press for union and harmony for the sake of the Presidential chances in 1892. A plea of this kind from the gang which has put a "knife" into nearly every Democratic Presidential candidate for a quarter of a century, is most moving. Only a few days ago Croker was eager to "go it alone" with Godfather Grant, but no sooner does his wish appear likely to be gratified than he begins to plead for harmony and union. In the second place, the straight-ticket advocates among the Republicans are modifying their demands, and are expressing a willingness to confer with other anti-Tammany forces. In the third place, we are happy to say that there is no longer any danger of precipitate action by the People's Municipal League in the nomination of its ticket.

The recent choice of a layman as President of Amherst College, a Congregational institution in New England, is followed by similar action in the case of a prominent Methodist institution in the West, Mr. Henry W. Rogers, a lawyer by profession, and only thirty-seven years of age, having just been elected as head of the Northwestern University of Evanston, Ill. Not less significant of the remarkable change in the governing forces of denominational institutions is the fact that there is only one clergyman among the twenty-one trustees of the new Baptist university in Chicago, while the head of the committee on the selection of officers is a Unitarian, another member is a Universalist, and a third is not a church-member at all. Such things would have seemed nothing short of incredible less than fifty years ago.

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A GENERAL SUMMING UP.

If we were looking for a suitable text for a sermon on the final passage of the McKinley Tariff Bill, we could find nothing more appropriate than the interview with Mr. Henry W. Oliver of Pittsburgh published in the morning papers. Says Mr. Oliver:

"The new Tariff Bill has the best proportioned rates and is the most protective bill that has ever been passed."

This is the same Mr. Oliver who, as a member of the Tariff Commission of 1882-3, put his name to the following words of truth and soberness:

"Early in its deliberations the Commission became convinced that a substantial reduction of tariff duties is demanded, not by a mere indiscriminate popular clamor, but by the best conservative opinion of the country, including that which has in former times been most strenuous for the preservation of our national industrial defences. Such a reduction of the existing tariff the Commission regards not only as a due recognition of public sentiment and a measure of justice to consumers, but one conducive to the general industrial prosperity, and which, although it may be temporarily inconvenient, will be ultimately beneficial to the special interests affected by such reduction."

And much more to the same effect, ending with a bill which the Commission said would reduce the then existing tariff from 20 to 25 per cent. on the average. This report was signed by a selected list of protectionists, including Robert P. Porter, the present Superintendent of the Census; the late John L. Hayes, Secretary of the Wool-Manufacturers' Association; and A. M. Garland, President of the Wool-Growers' Association, as well as Mr. Oliver aforesaid.

If what they said then was true, it is still more so now. If what they said then was applicable to the condition of American industry in its broadest scope, agricultural, mechanical, and commercial, it is still more so now. They pointed out that excessive duties led to improvident investment of capital with consequent failure and loss. "They encourage," continues the report, "the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprise by rash and unskilled speculators, to be followed by disaster to the adventurers and their employees, and a plethora of commodities which deranges the operations of skilled and prudent enterprise." This tendency has led to the creation and multiplication of Trusts among manufacturers whose business had been inordinately stimulated by excessive duties, as Mr. Oliver and his associates said it would be.

But long before the Tariff Commission of 1882-'3 made their memorable deliverance, Republican statesmen who still hold positions of leadership had taken the same position. Said Senator Sherman in the tariff debate of 1872:

"It must be remembered that the present duties taken together are far in excess of what they were before the war, and that they have been three times largely increased since the passage of the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861. . . . The result of such duties is to secure to mechanical industries higher wages than can be earned in other kindred employments. Such excessive protection not only ceases to diversify production, but forces labor into protected employments. If the present rates of duty were high enough during and since the war, when home industry was burdened with heavy internal taxes—with stamp duties, income taxes, and high rates on raw materials—then surely they are now too high when all these taxes are removed. . . . I have listened with patience, day by day, to the statements of gentlemen who are interested in our domestic productions. I am a firm believer in the general idea of protecting their industries; but I assure them, as I assure their representatives here, that if the present high rates of duties, unexampled in our country, and higher by nearly 50 per cent. than they were in 1861, are maintained on metallic and textile fabrics after we have repealed the very internal taxes which gave rise to them, and after we have substantially given them their raw materials free of duties, we shall have a feeling of dissatisfaction among other interests in the country that will overthrow the whole system, and do greater harm than can possibly be done by a moderate reduction of the present rates of duty. And I am quite sure that intelligent men engaged in the production of various forms of textile and metallic fabrics feel, as I do, that it is wiser and better to do what is just and right, to make a reduction on their products, at least to the extent of the reduction in this bill on their raw materials, rather than to invite a controversy in which I believe they will be in the wrong."

In like manner Mr. Allison of Iowa declared in this debate that the tariff duties at that time were too high, that they were oppressive to agriculture and injurious to the manufacturers themselves. He said that the country had prospered more under the tariff of 1846 (the so-called free-trade tariff) than it had either before or since. This is interesting in the light of Mr. Allison's present position and votes.

"It is claimed," he said, "that the high rates of our present tariff are necessary because the revenue to be obtained therefrom is essential to the Government; and that if we reduce the rates at all, the effect will be the depression of all the industrial interests of the country. The tariff of 1846, although professedly and confessedly a tariff for revenue, was, so far as regards all the great interests of the country, as perfect a tariff as any we ever had. If any interest was depressed under the tariff of 1846, it was the iron interest. I do not believe that this interest, as compared with other interests, had sufficient advantage under that tariff; yet, when we compare the growth of the country from 1840 to 1850 with the growth of the country from 1850 to 1860, the latter decade being entirely under the tariff of 1846, or the amended and greatly reduced tariff of 1857, we find that the increase of our wealth between 1850 and 1860 was equivalent to 126 per cent., while it was only 64 per cent. between 1840 and 1850, four years of which decade were under the tariff of 1842, known as a high-protective tariff, but the average rate of which was about 70 per cent. *below* the existing rate, or 27 per cent. under the tariff of 1842 as against 44 per cent. upon all importations under the present tariff. Our industries were generally prosperous in 1860, with the exception possibly of the iron industry. This was the statement of Mr. Morrill of Vermont on the floor during the discussions of the tariff of 1864."

We might fill columns with similar extracts from the utterances of leading Republican Senators and Representatives dating only a few years back. What has come over the spirit of their dream? Why do we find them now advocating and voting for a tariff higher and more oppressive than any other that ever was heard of or dreamed of in our history? Why do we find them swearing now that everything is white which they called black a few years ago? At which of the two times did they speak the truth, and at which of the two were they telling falsehoods?

This is not a difficult question to answer. At the time when Oliver and Porter, Sherman and Allison, and the rest, were calling for lower duties and showing how the tariff was an injury to the country and an injustice to consumers, the tariff was not an issue in politics. Parties had not divided on it. There was no motive for deceiving people or deceiving themselves. They could afford to speak the truth. The Republican party was not then indebted to a particular class of manufacturers for a campaign fund. It had no debts of a pecuniary nature to discharge. All the conditions were favorable to candor and truth-telling. We do them the justice to believe that they would always tell the truth when they have no contrary motive. But since Mr. Cleveland and the Democratic party took ground for a moderate reduction of the tariff, rather less than Oliver & Co. recommended in 1883, and since the Trusts and "combines" and the protected classes in general put up their money to elect Harrison, the situation is changed and we see what we see.

THE SPEAKER.

Only one theory of the nature of the Speaker's office has prevailed in parliamentary countries since its foundation. It was framed on the very establishment of parliamentary government in England, and was carried to this country by the colonists, and has never undergone any change or alteration either in formal rules or in the minds of intelligent men. That theory is well set forth by Cushing as follows, and all other writers on parliamentary procedure fully concur with him:

"The duties of a presiding officer are of such a nature, and require him to *possess so entirely and exclusively the confidence of the assembly*, that, with certain exceptions, which will presently be mentioned, he is not allowed to exercise any other functions than those which properly belong to his office; that is to say, he is excluded from submitting propositions to the assembly, from participating in its deliberations, and from voting. The advantages of these restrictions are supposed to be threefold: (1) the presiding officer is thus left to devote himself exclusively to his official duties, and to the cultivation of the peculiar talents which they require, which would hardly be the case if he were called to take the part and sustain the reputation of a member, and *were influenced by any other ambition than that of performing well the duties of his office;* (2) *he is thereby secured against the seductions of partiality, and is placed beyond the reach even of suspicion*, by being excluded from engaging as a party in debates and proceedings in which it may become his duty officially to act as judge; and, third, he is relieved *from the danger of weakening his personal consideration by failing in the measures he undertakes, or by giving cause of offence to his associates*, to which a participation in the proceedings as a member would inevitably expose him."

It is obvious that it is only by maintaining rigidly the judicial character of the Speaker's functions that the efficiency or purity of parliamentary government can in any country be preserved. It is as a judge that he enjoys that "confidence of the assembly" which, as Cushing says, forms the very foundation of his authority. It is as a judge that he is expected to interpret and apply the rules. It is because he is assumed to be indifferent between the two political parties in his official action that both submit with a good grace to his decisions. He of course always, as a member of the House, belongs to one or other of these parties, but his highest qualification for the place is the general belief that he will not

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allow his party predilections to influence his rulings. A parliamentary body presided over by an avowed partisan would always be on the verge of physical violence. The minority would be constantly tempted to resist what they deemed injustice by force, and parliamentary government would fall into that contempt which has always ended in the appearance of Cæsars, Cromwells, Napoleons, and Boulangers. No such man can long sit in the Speaker's chair without destroying or weakening in every member's mind that delicate respect for law and precedent on which parliamentary institutions rest, and which they never long survive.

It is quite true that it has of late been felt necessary in several parliaments, notably the English House of Commons, to increase the Speaker's control of the procedure, with the view of preventing plain attempts to obstruct or delay business and defeat the will of the majority. But the greater the Speaker's authority becomes, the more needful is it that there should be no doubt or distrust of the spirit in which he exercises it. The larger his powers, the more thoroughly judicial should his temper be, the more carefully should he avoid all appearance of either personal or political partiality.

To illustrate this, let us suppose that when the Speaker of the House of Commons was armed with the greatly enlarged powers which he now possesses over debate, he had come out as a strong and bellicose Unionist, had snubbed and sneered at the Gladstonians, refused to let them "catch his eye" when he pleased, and avowed openly his intention to push the Irish Coercion Bill through to the best of his ability as just what the Irish rascals needed: what a frightful scandal it would have been considered. Suppose, in addition to this, he had left the chair to stump his own constituency against Home Rule, and had loaded the Opposition with abuse, and told his constituents what measures he was going to pass and what to defeat—had, in short, taken openly the position of the party leader—that is, of Balfour and Salisbury; suppose that the Conservatives had supported him in this and shouted, "That's the talk," "Go for 'em, Art.," "Thank God, we have a man in the Speaker's chair at last," what a profound sensation it would have produced throughout the civilized world; what a heavy blow most sober-minded and intelligent men of all countries would feel had been given to parliamentary government everywhere.

And yet we have been witnessing just such a spectacle in this country within the last three months. We have seen this theoretically judicial functionary openly assuming the duties of the leader of his party in the Legislature, and putting himself in direct charge of pending legislation, and seizing for the use of the majority every power, short of physical force, within his reach for the passage of such bills as he approved of, and finally abandoning his place for a stumping tour in his own State, during which he denounced the minority, and produced a full legislative programme in the character of the chief party manager.

Let us admit, for the sake of argument and illustration, that his plan of making a quorum (which he himself denounced vigorously ten years ago) by counting every member whom he sees within the House, is a good one; is it not obvious that this power of seeing members—that is, of substituting his personal testimony for that of the journal—is one which increases enormously the need of the confidence of the House in the judicial quality of his mind and in the rectitude of his character? The more there is left to a man's discretion in dealing with other people's interests and rights, the stronger must be the guarantees of his honesty and impartiality. But Speaker Reed has actually offered the world the grotesque spectacle of increasing partisanship in conjunction with increasing authority and greatly enlarged discretion. Hear what Gen. Garfield said as to the danger of this new power, in 1880:

> "Who is to control his seeing? How do we know but that he may see forty members more for his own purposes than there are here in the House? I think my friend from Virginia will see that he lets in the one-man power in a far more dangerous way than ever has occurred before in any legislative assembly of which he and I have any knowledge."

Hear also what Mr. Blaine said of it when he was Speaker in 1875:

> "There can be no record like the call of the yeas and nays; and from that there is no appeal. The moment you clothe your Speaker with power to go behind your roll-call and assume that there is a quorum in the hall, why, gentlemen, you stand on the very brink of a volcano."

In other words, the power which is now claimed and exercised for all sorts of purposes by this furious and reckless partisan, a power absolutely destructive of all the best traditions of the Speaker's office, is one which these two prominent Republican leaders pronounced, in times far more exciting than those in which we now live, unfit to be given to any Speaker, as Speakers then were—that is, before any Speaker had openly taken charge of money-making legislation, and browbeaten the minority as public enemies. We look with confidence for the judgment of the country on this wanton attempt to destroy one of its most valuable possessions—the respect within the walls of the Legislature for law and justice and decency.

THE LEADER OF SOCIETY.

Rumor has it, and it is not an improbable rumor, that Mr. Ward McAllister has been offered $50,000 by Mr. Abbey for a winter's course of lectures on Society. Whether Mr. McAllister will accept remains to be seen, but we should say that the chances were that he would accept. The offer is a very flattering one, and evidently by no means an empty compliment. Mr. Abbey backs his opinion of Mr. McAllister's popularity with a mighty sum, and Mr. Abbey is no mean judge of what takes with the American people. We believe there is today no man in the country who excites so much popular curiosity, particularly in the West, as Mr. McAllister, simply because he is supposed to hold the key to what a vast body of people consider an enchanted land, the region called "Society," or more particularly "New York Society." The eagerness to get into it, and the desire to know how to get in, and how to behave when in, are every year ravaging a greater and greater number of American bosoms; and the pressure on the barriers is becoming every year more dangerous. In no capital is Society by any means as hard to enter as it used to be. In every capital a crowd of almost uncontrollable newly enriched people are jostling each other fiercely at the golden gates, and offering the porter fabulous sums to let them squeeze through. But the crowd is kept down in European cities by the greater slowness with which fortunes are made. Curiosity, too, about Society is much less there than it is here, because nearly all aspirants have either had glimpses of it before they actually became candidates for admission, or have received through mere filtration from above, in the course of their previous lives, more or less acquaintance with its usages. There is hardly a newly enriched man or woman in England, struggling to get into the upper circles, who has not had, before he actually came to close quarters with his problem, a certain familiarity with dinner-giving and ball-giving, perhaps on a scale of some luxury. What he gains by social promotion is, therefore, in most cases, simply more distinguished company at his entertainments.

In the United States the conditions are different. Here, as a rule, the candidate for admission to Society arrives at the barriers with hardly any equipment but his check-book. Neither he nor his wife knows anything about dinner or ball-giving, or about etiquette in general. The way "Society ladies," "club men," and others behave when in each other's company is a great mystery to them both, which they are dying to solve. Hence the demand for "manuals of etiquette," and hence the minuteness of the directions about the minor morals into which these works have to descend. Very often they have to begin with such elementary matter as cautions against spitting on carpets, or using the dinner-knife as a shovel.

The number of these people who have acquired enough money to get into Society, particularly in the West, is enormous. Every year makes additions to the army of them who, having already "travelled extensively in Europe," are dying to "bring out their girls" or marry their boys among the haughty aristocrats who, they fondly believe, fill the mansions in Fifth and Madison Avenues. To this rather helpless and simple-minded multitude Mr. McAllister appears as a kind of Moses, who can lead them into the land of promise. They think he can decide who is fit for "Society," and who is not, and that he may be propitiated into indulgent views about manners and general outfit if properly approached. The report that he had said there were only 400 "Society people" in New York, sent a thrill through the mass which has hardly subsided at this hour. They had no idea the number was so small, and the announcement excited both their hopes and fears to the highest pitch. What he really did say, we are informed on all but the highest authority, was, that there were only about four hundred people in New

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York, not "fit for Society"—God forbid!—but who were in the habit of giving dinners and other more or less costly entertainments.

The history of this speech of his has been very droll, and furnishes a striking illustration of the place he fills in the popular imagination. It was treated by the newspapers as something very like the Venetian "Closing of the Council," that is, a final determination who were the ladies and gentlemen of this community. "Official" and "semi-official" lists of them were concocted, sold, and read with great delight or deep depression, as the case might be; and the "Four Hundred" has actually passed into popular parlance as a not wholly humorous designation of the beginnings of an American aristocracy. The fortune of the selection abroad was even more illustrious. In the London *Daily News* the other day, we saw the Four Hundred of New York described as the descendants of a body of "Old Dutch burghers," who lived absolutely to themselves, and constituted one of the most exclusive societies in the world.

Of course Mr. McAllister is not responsible for this nonsense. He knows better than anybody the curious material of which his world is made up, and the smallness of its pretensions to any distinction but that of wealth. All he claims is, that there is something in New York called Society, in which people eat and dress well, and amuse themselves expensively, and that he has more to say than any other one person about the time and manner in which the newcomers can be admitted to it. Some of those who were in it before he appeared on the scene flout his pretensions, it is true, and in moments of excitement call him "a cad"; but to the aspirants he is the very glass of fashion and mould of form, the most interesting, and for certain purposes the most powerful, living American. Wine merchants in particular reverence him much, for he can do a great deal for a brand of sherry or champagne; and the students of etiquette look up to him as tyros in the law do to the Justices of the United States Supreme Court. Even the haughtiest mothers bringing daughters "out" cannot afford to despise his help. Young men who live in boarding-houses, and long for acquaintance with "nice people, don't you know," look on him with awe and admiration. To country people, especially the girls, who come to see the city sights, he typifies all they have read or heard of life at foreign courts, and they fancy he rules over a body of gay people not unlike the Society of the Burg at Vienna. In truth, in the present temper of the American people, laden as they are with a surplus, and eager to spend it in some splendid and luxurious fashion, he is the hero of the time. What kind of a lecturer he will prove we do not venture to guess. Doubtless his success, if he succeeds, will be due to the solid chunks of knowledge he will communicate rather than to the charms of his style. We fear that he cannot succeed equally well as a lecturer and author. If his book fulfils the great expectations entertained of it, it must in some degree interfere with the interests of his platform efforts. But in one way or the other we may be sure he will strengthen his hold both on "Society people" and the people who are getting ready for Society.

BOULANGISM UNMASKED.

PARIS, September 18, 1890.

EUROPE has never been more calm than it is at present: the Triple Alliance professes to be purely defensive; the sovereigns exchange visits and uniforms. The present calm reminds me of the beautiful verse of Racine in "Iphigénie—

"Tout ce tait, et l'armée et les vents et Neptune."

In France the Government has, so to speak, no more difficulties to deal with. M. Constans, the Prime Minister, is the uncontested leader of the Republican party, and it must be said to his credit that he triumphs with great modesty. "Je suis," said he the other day, "un vieil universitaire que le hasard a fait ministre." In this dead season we were reduced to comparing the merits of the two last successful novels, 'Notre Cœur,' by Guy de Maupassant, and 'Cœur de Femme,' by Paul Bourget. But the calm was broken by the publication in the *Figaro* of a succession of articles which appeared under the title "Les Coulisses du Boulangisme."

The author of these "Confidences" does not sign his articles, but it is well known now that he is a M. Mermeix, one of the Deputies from Paris, who belonged to the Boulangist organization while Boulanger's party had a sort of semi-official existence, with its committees called national committees, its papers, its lecturers, its secret funds. Who is M. Mermeix? It is quite possible to represent the "cité-lumière," as Victor Hugo called Paris, the great capital which thinks itself at the head of civilization, and to be perfectly unknown. M. Mermeix has suddenly risen from complete obscurity; he has a duel a day; he challenges and is challenged on account of his "Confidences"; he is wounded, always slightly wounded; he is always ready to meet the persons who accuse him of inaccuracy, economy of truth, calumny, baseness, ingratitude towards his former chief. He is still a young man. He began life as a reporter, and developed in that capacity a great activity, a certain suppleness of intelligence, and a sort of photographic memory, which are the leading characteristics of a good reporter.

Did he belong to any party? No. He went to Frohsdorf after the death of the Comte de Chambord, and reported all the incidents of the funeral, of the journey of the Comte de Paris, his family, and the representatives of the great Legitimist families, in a manner to satisfy the most ardent Royalist. I have been told that on this occasion he received from the Comte de Paris the present of a pin, which probably still at times adorns his cravat. When the Boulanger star began to rise, M. Mermeix followed it, and threw his lot among the followers of the enigmatic General, who came from all the corners of the horizon. Shall we be so severe as to say of them, as Corneille says of the men who were conspiring against Augustus, in "Cinna"—

"Un tas d'hommes perdus de dettes et de crimes,
Que pressent de mes lois les ordres légitimes,
Et qui, désespérant de les plus éviter,
Si tout n'est renversé ne sauraient subsister"?

Shall we use the words of Tacitus, repeated with so much effect by Gambetta in the great speech which made him famous, when, referring to the men who made the *Coup d'État* of December, he described them as "ære alieno et vitiis onustos"?

It has at all times been the fate of the enigmatic men who, in the midst of the confusion of parties, are working for their own ambition, to be surrounded by dubious characters. How was the Boulangist party recruited? What were its objects? This political problem is receiving its solution; the "Coulisses du Boulangisme" throw more light on it than did the indictments of M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, who was the public prosecutor in the great trial of Boulanger, Rochefort, and Dillon before the French Senate. One of my English friends, who does not believe in the future of republican institutions in France, has invariably asked me for twenty years, when I met him: "How does the army feel on the subject of your politics? Is there no general who will take the army in hand and use it for the benefit, if not of monarchy, at least of himself?" It seemed almost incredible to him, as it probably seems still, that an army of a million of men, recruited from all ranks of the people, should be no political factor at all.

It would take too long to give the reasons for this political inertia; let us accept it as a fact. Marshal MacMahon, who is a Marshal of France, who, to be sure, suffered a great defeat in the late war, but who has a fine military record and bears the title of Duke of Magenta, never dreamed of a *coup d'état;* and when the elections which followed the 16th of May condemned the policy his Ministry had adopted, he changed his Cabinet and finally resigned. Marshal Canrobert, who is probably the most popular man in the French Army, and who is a Senator, has always shown the same spirit. In fact, not a single general ever gave any hope to those who dream of a revolution or a *coup d'état* till General Boulanger became Minister of War. It must not be forgotten that he was the nominee of the most advanced Republicans—of those who call themselves the Radicals. From that day he contrived to keep himself always before the public; he could be all things to all men; he could be theatrical; he was ubiquitous. His enemies as well as his friends were not long in discovering that he had no fixed object but his ambition; that his political phraseology was but a figment; that he was not dogmatic. He became a sort of enigma, in consequence of a kind of versatility and of the contrast between his personal tastes and his language, between the apparent decision of his character and the indistinctness of his real aspirations.

A great American statesman whom I saw long ago, in the days of Napoleon III., remarked to me: "It seems to me that you have always four political parties in France; and when one is in power, the other three combine against it." The remark was very correct, and it is still so, though the Legitimists and Orleanists are now merged into the same party, the Royalist party. We still have four parties: the Republicans in power, whom we call the Opportunists; the Republicans out of power, who go under the general name of Radicals; the Royalists; the Bonapartists. When a general election takes place, coalitions of the parties in opposition are formed against the Government—more or less avowed, according to the circumstances. The difficulty for such coalitions is to find a cry. In 1885 the cry was Tonquin, and, in many places, besides Tonquin, the new law which excluded the priest and religious instruction from the school. The success of the Opposition was great, and there was a minority of 200 members against the ruling party, consisting of Republican Opportunists. At the time of the last general elections, Tonquin was almost forgotten, the *Kulturkampf* had lost its first

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ardor; Boulanger offered himself to all the malcontents. To the Radicals he promised the revision of the Constitution; the Monarchists he gave to understand, if he did not say so distinctly to them, that a revision of the Constitution might lead to monarchy, and that no limitation of the sovereignty of the people would be opposed by him. Such was the popularity of the man that the Republican party thought it necessary to replace the *scrutin de liste* with the *scrutin d'arrondissement*. If the general ticket had been retained, it was understood and already accepted by all the malcontents that Gen. Boulanger should head all the tickets in all the departments, whether his name should be followed by Republican, or Bonapartist, or Royalist names. He was to be the great elector, to make the tickets for the whole country; he would have obtained in this way a real *plébiscite* and become the Dictator of France.

History will some day find it difficult to explain the rise and downfall of Boulangism. The "Coulisses du Boulangisme" take us behind the political curtain and show us a sort of comedy which is at the same time comical and saddening. The minor actors in the comedy will soon be forgotten—their names are hardly worth mentioning; but Boulanger himself will perforce have a place in the pages of French history. He will also have his legend. You will find for many years in some cottages, in some country inn, the portrait of the dashing General on his black charger. The philosophy of Boulangism will be explained by future historians, who will find in it a proof of the hidden hero-worship which exists in the Latin race. In want of the real hero, the popular mind had seized a virtual hero, a virtual man of action, a virtual deliverer of Alsace-Lorraine. What this virtuality was, we all know now; and it is not without a sense of shame that many speak of the man of action who ran before danger, of the political adventurer who dreaded adventures. Much dirty linen is washed under our eyes in these "Coulisses du Boulangisme," and all sincere men of all parties cannot help suffering at the spectacle which is placed before their eyes. The general impression which these revelations produce is one of contrition: we see more clearly than we did before that with universal suffrage corruption becomes universal; that a democracy becomes a plutocracy; that political power is the way to wealth, to pleasure, and is no longer the price of pure patriotism; that France is sadly in need of great men, of statesmen, of political guides. Boulanger is fallen, but France herself is humbled. She must feel that Boulanger is not a Napoleon and that Jersey is not St. Helena.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT IN JAPAN.

Tokio, August, 1890.

It is a fact suggestive of the frequent failure among Japanese to appreciate certain of our points of view, that there is not a person in Japan to-day who knows the total number of national electors or of the votes cast at the national election of July 1. It has simply not occurred to the officials to take measures for compiling the complete figures. Some estimate may be formed, however, from scattered reports procured for me by the Government. The figures reveal an extraordinary eagerness to exercise the new franchise. The electors numbered very nearly 500,000, and the average voting percentage reached, if it did not exceed, the high figure of 90. Even in apathetic Tokio the percentage rose to 83, and in Osaka to 90; while in some of the provincial constituencies the remarkable record of 97 and 99 was attained. Candidates, too, were plentiful. The average for the whole country was 3 or 4 for each seat, but in many country districts a list of from 5 to 9 appeared, and in Tokio itself there were 93 candidates for 12 places. From the fact that independent candidacies formed a large proportion (one-third) of the whole number, we may appreciate, on the one hand, the high estimate set upon a seat in the new Parliament even by those who have hitherto avoided politics, and, on the other, the limited membership of the bodies calling themselves "parties," and the extent of the reserve force of citizenship ready to show active interest when political power is given to it.

The cardinal fact, however, which has been made clear is, that an election characterized by a hot scramble among candidates, and by the greatest interest on the part of electors, can be held here in the most placid and orderly manner. Needless to say, the unfriendly prophets who for several months have misrepresented affairs here in the foreign press would have had it far otherwise. But, excepting an insignificant case or two of disorder or intimidation, the 1st of July was everywhere a Sabbath of peace and calm.

The constituencies were divided in the most unaccountable manner. In Tokio they averaged 350 electors each; yet one of them contained 1,600, another 182. In country districts some reached 3,000, others only 300. In Saitama province a constituency containing 320 electors returned one member, while a contiguous one in the same province, returning two members, held over 7,000 electors. Such an arrangement was, of course, of the grossest unfairness to candidates. It was not a case of gerrymandering, however, as it would have been had it occurred in any other country: the ordinary local units of county, town, and ward were preserved and taken as a basis, and it was simply another case of failure to realize one of our elementary points of view.

The quality of the material composing this initial national Parliament is, of course, of the first consequence. A few of the choicest spirits, such as Mr. Fukuzawa, have caused some disappointment by refusing to stand; others of conspicuous merit and ability, such as Mr. Hatoyama (a Yale graduate, until recently a legal adviser to the Government, and a professor in the Imperial University), have been defeated by less worthy candidates; while from the provinces will come many men of only ordinary calibre and of limited experience. But on the whole the best talent of the country, the leading minds in every department of activity, have been returned, and certainly not our own country, perhaps no European nation, can show a legislature containing such a large proportion of its best intellectual material. The present occupations of 217 out of the 300 members of the Lower House (*Shiugi In*) are distributed as follows: Agriculture, 77; no occupation, 36; membership in local assemblies, 24 (of these 13 are presidents); Government office, 24; law, 17; trade, 14; journalism, 11; education, 5; banking, 4; medicine, 3; mining, 1; art, 1. That there will be many of tried parliamentary experience is certain, for at least thirty-five have been members of local aesemblies and eighteen of them have served as presidents. To be sure, the prominent party men, those who devote themselves almost entirely to politics, are present in large numbers; but this class of citizens represent here, much more than with us, political integrity and earnest thinking. In rank the membership is thus divided: *shizoku* (samurai), 35 per cent.; *heimin* (commoners), 65 per cent.; so that the prophecy of some that this would be a *shizoku* Parliament only is by no means verified.

A glance at the Tokio delegation will convey an idea of the general character and standing of the members-elect. Here is Tanimoto, formerly Paymaster-General of the Navy, President of the Tokio Street-Car Co., and now President of the Tokio Stock Exchange; Kazama, a farmer's boy who came to Tokio so poor that he could study law only by talking with other students, now a successful lawyer and member of the Tokio Assembly; Ota, apprenticed to a wine-merchant, but afterwards successively South Sea trader, editor, founder of a free school, and Government official, now manager of the Stock Exchange and President of his District Assembly; Oyagi, formerly a feudal noble, now a professor of law; Tsuda, diplomat in Holland under the old Shogunate and in China under the present Government, then judge, now Senator; Kusumoto, formerly Governor of Niigata, Vice-Governor of Tokio, Vice-President of the Senate, now President of the Tokio Assembly; and there are dozens of others who have equally good records. Kusumoto and Tsuda are among the candidates for the Presidency of the lower house, as is also Mutsu, the recently returned American Minister. Two things may be predicted: (1) that no Government official will get the Presidency; (2) that none but a Tokio man can hope for it.

A word must be said about the success of the various parties and the probable proportion between Government and Opposition strength. Estimates vary (for party sympathies are not always avowed here), but roughly the members will stand: *Daido* (United) 60, *Jiyu* (Radical) 50, *Kaishin* (Progressive) 50, Independent 140. Of the latter the Government may count on 80. The strength of the first three groups united (for, as I wrote lately, a union is imminent) will be 160, plus a score or more of Independents; so that the Opposition seems sure to have a safe working majority in any case. Already the Government realizes this, and is acting so as to take some of the wind out of the Opposition sails, by amending those obnoxious measures which would be likely to offer the greatest chance of an immediate Opposition victory. The law regulating political meetings and associations, Bismarckian in its restrictions, has been remodelled; and before November comes, the hateful Peace Preservation Regulations of December, 1887 (much discussed in your columns in the spring of 1888), will be repealed, and the unduly severe press laws revised.

One thing must be clearly understood abroad, that the success of the Opposition in obtaining a majority of the seats means not the slightest danger to stability of government or efficiency of administration. Neither the measures nor the men of the Opposition are anything but reputable and conservative. Not the measures, for perhaps the most radical and visionary of those that are advocated is the introduction of trial by jury! Certainly not the men, for all three of the leaders, Count Itagaki, Count Okuma, and Count Goto, though counted among the "outs," belong historically to the very band of Restoration leaders who now control the Government (Goto is, in fact, a member of the Ministry), and are at this moment using their Opposition strength to secure by compromise a more important influence in the control of affairs; while the lesser lights, men of the sort I have already described, are both by character and surroundings too high in the social, the political, the industrial, the mercantile world, to be anything but conservative.

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In short, it must not be forgotten that "Radical" and "Liberal" are purely relative words in Japanese politics; that there are in fact no crying grievances; that the real sting of whatever measures are obnoxious is that they are imposed by a close corporation of rulers, who, be it said, have safely conducted the Government through great crises, and, being but men, naturally do not choose as yet to surrender their powers completely to others—others, too, who, though quite as good, perhaps, have not yet proved their capacity. It is the more needful to insist on this utter absence of any elements of instability or of dangerous radicalism, as an impression seems to have been received in our own country that the political outlook here is ominous—an impression wholly without foundation.

Of the House of Peers it is premature to speak. The nominations by the Emperor have not yet been made, and its composition is as yet not entirely certain. It is likely, however, that none of the new nobility whose services have marked them out in public estimation for a seat will fail to receive it; that its membership will vie with that of the lower house in ability; and that its first President will be Count Ito, the framer of the Constitution.

J. H. W.

Correspondence.

A FORCE BILL FOR YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Those who are so zealous for the "Force Bill" before Congress may read the following incident with much profit, taken from the *Andover Review* for October (p. 371). The writer is a clergyman who resolved to suspend most of his pastoral duties for a while, and spend some time in personal contact with laboring and business men, endeavoring to find out their habits of life and thought, opinions, moral and religious, and the conditions under which they had to shape their behavior, etc. The incident is as follows:

"It was stated again and again that the negro was not allowed in certain hotels and restaurants. I asked an intelligent, respectably dressed young negro, who was a bookkeeper for a loan company, if he would go with me to different eating-places and see how he would be received. After a little hesitation he agreed, and we first went together to a highly respectable restaurant, and were received and served, so far as I could see, exactly alike. We could not see any difference. To avoid any possible advantage caused by our going in together, we next agreed that he should go to the next place alone, and I would come in a little later. He went to one of the most fashionable caterers in the city, gave his order, and was served politely and promptly. I came in a little after and found him enjoying himself, very much surprised to find matters as they were. We next went separately to another house, which, I have been told, refused to let the negroes come in, and there my friend disposed of his meal with no disturbance except possibly to his digestive apparatus. We then made a move on the city Young Men's Christian Association, and the negro applied for a full membership in the Association, while I waited in the reading-room. He gave satisfactory references, but, after some conversation, was politely refused admission on the ground of color, and that only."

This occurred, not in South Carolina or Georgia, but in Topeka, Kan., and the incident ought to speak for itself to religious people who are allowing politicians to make dupes of them for a lease of power which they cannot obtain by an appeal to intelligence and a sense of justice. Perhaps if the "Force Bill" were applied to Young Men's Christian Associations, it would do some good.

Very truly, J. H. H.

New York, September 25, 1890.

RESPONSES.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: (1.) In connection with your remarks in No. 1317 (September 25), concerning nocturnal inversions of temperature, it may be in order to state that around the bay of San Francisco, during the colder season of the year, there are frosts at night at the lowest altitudes, but none at higher. The frost-line is very nearly at 100 feet above sea-level. Below this line the gardener finds it necessary at night to cover such delicate flowers as the calla lily, which, when above it, can be left exposed without danger.

(2.) The staccato cheer was introduced at Harvard by the Class of 1866.

A. D. Hodges, Jr.

Notes.

The house of Sampson Low, Marston & Co. was formerly the English intermediary of the American house of Harper & Brothers, and still has its imprint on the English edition of *Harper's Magazine*. It is now announced that this relation will be superseded in favor of a new firm, styled James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., about to be established in Albemarle Street, London. Mr. Osgood needs no introduction to the American public. Mr. Clarence W. McIlvaine, the junior partner, has been for several years in the employ of the Messrs. Harper. The hope is expressed that the new arrangement "will tend to promote still closer and more friendly connections between authors and publishers" on both sides of the Atlantic.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will bring out during the present season a Life of Richard H. Dana, jr., by Charles Francis Adams, in two volumes; a Life of William Gilmore Simms, by Prof. W. P. Trent, in the "American Men of Letters" series; a Life of Francis Wayland, by Prof. J. O. Murray, and of Charles G. Finney, by Prof. George Frederick Wright, in the series of "American Religious Leaders"; a Life of Lewis Cass, by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, in the series of "American Statesmen"; 'The Genesis of the United States,' by Alexander Brown, in two volumes; 'The Discovery and Spanish Occupation of America,' by John Fiske; 'Christopher Columbus,' by Justin Winsor; 'A Browning Dictionary,' by George Willis Cooke; the seventh of the eight parts of Prof. F. J. Child's 'English and Scottish Popular Ballads'; 'Verses along the Way,' by Mary E. Blake; 'The Inverted Torch,' by Edith M. Thomas; 'Songs of Life,' by Edna Dean Proctor; 'The Bird and the Bell, with Other Poems,' by Christopher Pearse Cranch; 'Lyrics for a Lute,' by Frank Dempster Sherman; 'Representative Sonnets by American Authors,' selected by Charles H. Crandall; 'American Sonnets,' edited by Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Mrs. E. H. Bigelow; 'The Divina Commedia of Dante,' translated into English prose by Prof. Charles Eliot Norton, in three volumes, and a new edition, uniform with the foregoing, of his translation of the 'Vita Nuova'; 'Over the Teacups,' by Oliver Wendell Holmes; 'A Sketch of Chester Harding,' an autobiography edited by his daughter, Margaret E. White; 'A Ward of the Golden Gate,' by Bret Harte; 'Strangers and Wayfarers,' by Sarah Orne Jewett; 'Walford,' a novel, by Ellen Olney Kirk; Hawthorne's 'Our Old Home,' illustrated freely with photogravures; Longfellow's 'Hiawatha,' similarly illustrated; 'The Art of Playwriting,' by Prof. Alfred Hennequin; 'The Silva of North America,' by Prof. Charles S. Sargent, the first of twelve quarto volumes each containing fifty plates; and 'The Butterflies of the Eastern United States and Canada,' by Samuel H. Scudder.

The Messrs. Putnam will put on the market limited editions of the late Sir William Stirling-Maxwell's 'Annals of the Artists of Spain,' in four volumes (large-paper and small-paper), and of "Heroes of the Nations," a series edited by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., of Oxford, which is introduced by W. Clark Russell with 'Nelson and the Naval Supremacy of England.'

Duprat & Co., No. 349 Fifth Avenue, invite subscriptions to an *édition de luxe* of Shakspere's 'Antony and Cleopatra,' with an introduction by Dr. W. J. Rolfe, and seventeen illustrations designed and etched by Paul Avril. One hundred and fifty copies will be printed on the presses of D. Jouaust.

Henry Holt & Co. will publish immediately 'Our Dictionaries, and Other English-Language Topics,' by R. O. Williams.

'The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton,' by T. Wemyss Reid, and 'English Sanitary Institutions, Reviewed in their Course of Development and in some of their Political and Social Relations,' by Sir John Simon, are in the press of the Cassell Publishing Co., together with 'Flower de Hundred, the Story of a Virginia Plantation,' by Mrs. Burton Harrison.

The J. G. Cupples Co., Boston, announce 'Penelope's Web: An Episode of Sorrento,' by Owen Innsly, and 'Joe Cummings; or, The Story of the Son of a Squaw in Search of his Mother,' by himself.

Funk & Wagnalls have arranged for the authorized publication of Edwin Arnold's new poem, 'The Light of the World.' It will appear in October.

The Salem (Mass.) Publishing and Printing Co. have nearly ready for delivery a small edition of the Proceedings at the Meeting of the Thomas Hooker Association held at Hartford, Conn., on May 15, 1890. The same firm are about to bring out 'The Emery Genealogy'; Part II. of 'Notes and Additions to Babson's History of Gloucester, Mass.'; and 'Broad Street Epitaphs' and 'Chater Street Epitaphs' (Salem).

'Two Lost Centuries of Britain,' namely, the period immediately following the departure of the Romans, is the title of an historical study by William H. Babcock, which J. B. Lippincott Company will shortly issue.

S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, promise 'Civilization: An Historical Review of its Elements,' by Charles Morris of Philadelphia, and 'Hindu Literature; or, The Ancient Books of India,' a popular account by Mrs. Elizabeth A. Reed.

One sign of the increasing interest in Oriental life is the issue of manuals of history and literature, which serve to diffuse general ideas on the subject. Under the title, 'Arabic Authors' (London: William Heinemann), Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot has given an entertaining sketch of Moslem literature in the Arabic language, from the pre-Islamic poetry to the seventeenth century of our era, mostly biographical and anecdotal. In general he follows good authorities, though he in some cases retains statements that have been set aside by recent researches, as in his accounts of Lokman and of the Moallakat or Suspended Poems. The book would be improved by the introduction of literary criticism; it is too largely biographical and statis-

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tical. The sketch of Mohammed's life might profitably be shortened, and more space devoted to pointing out the peculiarities of thought and style of the Koran. It is precisely the Arabian idea of literary style that is an unknown quantity in Western thought, and it deserves to be expounded for the benefit of Western readers. Nevertheless, Mr. Arbuthnot has collected much interesting matter, and his book is welcome; college instructors may find it useful as a text-book. In the preface he calls attention to the present movement in England to revive the old Oriental Translation Fund, which was established in 1828 and did good work for fifty years. It is to be hoped that the movement may succeed.

The "Finger New Testament," which comes to us from Thomas Nelson & Sons, well deserves its name, having but a finger's length, the breadth of two, and the thickness of a third of an inch (or *pouce*, as we may say in French, to preserve the standard of measurement). For its minuteness the type is remarkably legible, but one can barely use this little curiosity—except for memorizing texts or for the most casual reference—unless with the aid of a magnifier. There is a neat, flexible binding with rounded corners, and the whole thing is nicely calculated for the vest pocket.

A large amount of expert writing is embraced in the third volume of 'The International Manual of Anthony's Photographic Bulletin' (E. & H. T. Anthony & Co.), which has, in fact, a double editorship, English and American. The samples of prints and processes are very numerous, and serve to embellish the well-packed pages. A second edition of the 'Photographer Instructor,' edited by W. I. Lincoln Adams and Prof. Charles Ehrmann (Scovill & Adams Co.), reaches our table at the same time with the foregoing.

In *L'Art* for August 1 (Macmillan), M. Émile Michel begins an elaborate discussion of Rembrandt's drawings, of which a great number of facsimiles are exhibited in connection with the text. The same number contains a full-page etching after Bonnat's portrait of Alexandre Falguière, an artist who has won distinction both as a statuary and as a painter. In No. 630, August 15, there is an etching of equal importance from Boldini's portrait of the composer Verdi, crowned with a silk hat, a muffler about his neck, and an expression in harmony with these suggestions of a bitter cold morning.

The pastels and drawings of Millet form the subject of one of the leading articles in the *Portfolio* for September (Macmillan), by Julia M. Ady, who has something more to say in a future number. The most striking etching is Herbert Dicksee's "Lion Drinking."

Artistic Japan (New York: S. Bing) completed its fourth volume in May, the number for that month containing an excellent first article by A. Lequeux on the Japanese theatre. Numerous cuts from Japanese drawings illustrate this writer's account, and more especially helpful is a folding colored plate showing the stage and interior of the theatre.

The latest map of Africa may well be the best, and the Dark Continent has just been delineated anew, in three sheets, in Part 19 of Hachette's 'Atlas de Géographie Moderne' (New York: F. W. Christern). The boundaries of the several States and Territories are clearly indicated in color, and the whole execution of the map is to be praised. The back of each sheet is utilized for statistical data and minor maps.

The September Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society contains a valuable paper on the Karun River and the commercial geography of Southwest Persia, by the Hon. Geo. Curzon, M.P. This river, the only navigable stream in Persia, empties into the Shat el-Arab, or estuary of the Tigris-Euphrates, about forty miles from its mouth. Small steamers can ascend it, at high water, as far as the ancient town of Shushter, some two hundred miles from the Gulf. Continuous navigation, however, is prevented during the greater part of the year by the rapids of Ahwáz. In October, 1888, this river was nominally opened by a decree of the Shah to the mercantile marine of the world. But serious obstacles have been, till recently, opposed by the local authorities to all attempts of the English, who monopolize the commerce of the Persian Gulf, to avail themselves of the privilege. Now, however, a company runs steamers on the lower river in conjunction with a Government steamer on the upper river. It is hoped by this means not only to develop the rich but uninhabited plains bordering the Karun, but also to make this river the channel for the foreign trade of the central and southwestern provinces of Persia, which are now wholly dependent on the far longer and more difficult caravan routes from Baghdad, Busrah, and Bushire. In the course of his paper Mr. Curzon stated that a company was being formed in England for the commercial development of this part of Persia.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for September is wholly taken up with an illustrated paper on the geology of the Maltese Islands, by Dr. John Murray. The introduction treats of the history, population, and agriculture of the islands in a very entertaining manner. Dr. Murray remarks upon the slight impression which the ninety years' occupation by the English has had upon the habits and customs of the Maltese. "Should the British leave the islands to-morrow," said a Maltese gentleman, "there would be no more traces of them in ten years than there are now of Greeks, Romans, or Arabs."

Missouri, Arkansas, and Texas are at present conducting geological surveys from which much information may be expected in the course of a few years. Several bulletins have been issued, the latest that has come to hand being on the cretaceous rocks of Texas and their economic value, by Robert T. Hill. These rocks cover an area of over 70,000 square miles, a fourth of Texas, or more than all New England together. They are of great importance as the foundation of many rich prairie soils, as the providers of water for numerous artesian wells, and as affording valuable building-stones. The principal inland cities of the State are built upon them. Mr. Hill's report is carefully prepared and well illustrated, and maintains his reputation as a hard-working geologist.

The principal articles in part ix. of the 'Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften' (Jena: G. Fischer; New York: Westermann) are Building Societies (17 pages), Cotton Manufacture (24 pages), divided into two parts, one on history and statistics, the other on tariff history; Building Laws (11 pages), Mining (24 pages), Possession, in law (20 pages), and Statistics of Population, not completed in this part, but covering more than forty pages. There is an unusually large number of biographical notices, among which may be mentioned Beccaria, Bentham, Berkeley, Bernoulli.

On the first of October the Berlin *Nation* completed its eighth year, under the editorship of Dr. Theodor Barth, and improved the occasion to make an appeal to its friends for an enlarged circulation and support. It has well deserved such support by its high political aims and tone and its excellent literary quality. It is such a German periodical as an American wishing to keep informed of German liberalism and to perfect his knowledge of the language would desire to take. The publisher is H. S. Hermann, Beuthstrasse 8, Berlin S. W.

—In the *Atlantic* for October, Prof. Palmer publishes an elaborately wrought translation of the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope in rhythmic prose, with the same traits that made his version of the first part of the 'Odyssey' excellent; and in connection with it he discusses the use of the hexameter in English, especially with regard to rendering Homer. This metrical question is made the principal matter, and the fragment of Homer is given as illustration. He argues that the hexameter approaches the freedom of prose; but as English lacks a dactyllic movement, and hence cannot employ the normal hexameter, it is best to adopt prose with an iambic beat as the medium of translation in which least is lost. The reasoning is close and plausible, but the objections are ignored, and one must look for them in the illustration given. The most obvious defect in rhythmic prose is its liability to fall into short and sing-song metres, which, though they may be infrequent, are fatal to the reader's pleasure so far as that depends on word-music. We take a half-page at random and find examples in plenty. For the sake of bringing out the metrical point, we print the words as they would naturally be divided by the ear:

> "For certainly of iron
> Is the heart within her breast."
> "Move the massive bed out there,
> And throw the bedding on."
> "Round this I formed my chamber,
> And I worked till it was done."

These are enough. The recurrence of such measures, if the ear is conscious of them, is more than trying, and the loss of dignity is beyond question. A weak ending, unobjectionable in prose, imports triviality into English verse, unless the metre is already defined as heroic; but in rhythmic prose there must be many such, and the measure, being variable, is undefined. Our caveat against Prof. Palmer, however, runs further than this. The hexameter does not seem to us nearer prose than the pentameter. Every metre alike establishes in the reader a state of expectation, which prose cannot do; and it is in consequence of this that metre in verse makes reading easier to the mind, and in prose makes it harder; it assists attention in the one, it distracts in the other. The truth seems to be that the music of prose is different in kind from that of verse, nor is Homer's hexameter nearer to Plato's melody than the poetry of *Hamlet* is to his prose. We can only indicate the lines of our disagreement, and it is only upon the metrical question that we differ from Prof. Palmer, as from William Morris or any other writer of this hybrid literary form: his translation, in simplicity, directness, gravity, freshness, truth, charms us, and it is only because of the annoyance of such jingling snatches as we have quoted that our pleasure is not complete. In the rest of the number we notice the unfavorable criticism of Frémont, and the just estimate of Benedict Arnold by John Fiske, out of a number of interesting topics.

—*Harper's* is largely occupied with short stories of very diverse quality, but the paper of Mr. Child upon "Agricultural Chili" continues a series of South American topics which must borrow much interest from the prominence of that part of the world in present politics and trade. "The First Oil Well" and "New Moneys of Lincoln's Administration" are the special topics in the number; and in

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the way of literary reminiscences, Mr. George Ticknor Curtis gives a vivid and good-humored sketch of Willis's young foppery in Boston, and of the engagement and early home of Lydia Maria Child, while Joaquin Miller writes of his hero, Byron, and tells a dream he had of him while staying at Newstead Abbey. There are several excellent cuts in the number, and the long series upon Wordsworth's Sonnets seems to come to its end in a kind of glory of decorated pages artistic in their arrangement as well as in the nature-feeling of their artist, Mr. Alfred Parsons.

—Prof. Shaler carries on in *Scribner's* the interesting inquiry which was begun last month into the influence of the physical characteristics of our country upon the nation. The tendency to ascribe a great deal to some one of many causes, and to discriminate imperfectly between conditions and motive powers, is very noticeable, as when, for example, he suggests that the civil war might have had a different issue had it not been for the upland Appalachian wedge striking into the South with its white counties and soil unadapted to cotton and tobacco. The essay is very like a prophecy, and casts our horoscope by means of glacial drift and uplifted ocean-bottoms and timber-belts. The outlook which is arrived at is particularly favorable for New England. The soil, though stubborn, is fertile, and increases in fertility by use, and there is much moist land to be made into fields and gardens; the seacoast and some mineral wealth, and especially an unequalled water-power, are also to be reckoned up; the result is, that when the new lands of the West begin to be exhausted by immigration and by culture, the farming districts of New England will recover, and civilization in its valleys will be full of variety, with manufactures and marine trade, and indeed all that can be desired. We have only to wait a century; but Prof. Shaler, turning from nature for a moment, anticipates that New England cities will then be peopled by citizens of Celtic descent, while the English race will maintain itself only on the farms as an agricultural population. In similar colors he depicts the future of the entire country east of the Mississippi in successive groups. The seacoast lowlands in the Atlantic and the Gulf States, except Florida, are, he thinks, in danger of Africanization. The Ohio Valley has a prospect of Mesopotamian populousness and abundance. Every part of the region bears some olive leaf of future plenty. This is most exhilarating reading for any American pessimist, and we await with confidence the author's forecast even of Nevada, that it may not be a "rotten borough" for ever. The question of architecture in the West is also an encouraging paper, to which we would gladly devote some space, but we can only direct the attention of those who are interested in the future of the art to this very open account of the matter.

—The *Century* has, in connection with Mr. Lodge's review of the present state of civil-service reform ("Why Patronage in Office is un-American"), a good deal of comment upon the subject which deserves to be read. Mr. Lodge devotes himself mainly to showing that historically the reform is not a return to the practice of the founders, but is a new thing; that patronage is an inheritance from our English traditions, and thoroughly un-American and out of harmony with our characteristic principles; and finally he demarcates strongly the patronage from the reform offices, and urges the inclusion of fourth-rate postmasterships among the latter as the next step. It is, he thinks, not possible that any ground gained by the reform can be lost by Congressional action. The second striking article in the number is an account of the bearing of photographs of nebulæ upon our knowledge of their actual conformation and upon the theory of the generation of stars. The writer, Mr. G. H. Darwin, attempts to harmonize speculatively the nebular and the meteoric hypotheses of the universe by showing that the showers of stones may behave in such a way as to be equivalent to the showers of molecules as conceived in the kinetic theory of gases. He does not assume to have proved this, but offers his ingenious train of thought as being at least on the true line of inquiry, and affording, if true, a solution of the main difficulty now felt with regard to the nebular theory. The illustration given of the nebula in Andromeda brings before the eye the marvellous results of the art of photography applied to the heavens, by which we see what even the telescope cannot make clear. Mr. Darwin says: "There is but little doubt but that one hundred millions of stars would already be perceptible" if the whole heavens were surveyed as thoroughly as some parts now have been.

—Some patriotic citizens of Cambridge have preserved in pamphlet form the admirable and indignant protest of the Rev. Edward H. Hall, minister of the first parish of Cambridge, himself a chaplain in the war, against the wretched degradation of our recent pension legislation. It was delivered on June 1, the Sunday after the last Memorial Day, and is a fine specimen of the old style of plain New England utterance from the pulpit on public questions:

"I am sorry to have devoted this summer Sunday to such a lament; yet it has seemed to me an unavoidable duty, however remote the topic may be from our usual themes. . . . The pulpit is often charged with being vague and general in its denunciations, and dealing with sin in the abstract rather than with particular offences. I bring before you this morning a very specific iniquity, and am much disappointed if I have not succeeded in describing it in the most definite terms which the English language affords. I am anxious to leave upon you the impression that the entire pension legislation of the past ten years is the most disreputable business in which an honorable nation could possibly engage; that it carries in itself all the elements of corruption, hypocrisy, and demoralization; that it is not called for by patriotism, by charity, or by statesmanship; that it is a burlesque upon statesmanship; that it is a libel upon charity; and that it strikes the most cruel blow at patriotism which that noble sentiment ever received."

No braver or better appeal has appeared than this of Mr. Hall; and, if we mistake not, it was the earliest public protest from the pulpit on this subject. It preceded Bishop Potter's oration by several weeks. It is excellent reading, and instructive as well; for its statements are precise and guarded, and it has an appendix "giving statistics of pension legislation and expenditures." It is printed by John Wilson & Son, Cambridge.

—We made brief mention last week of the German Socialistic Association called "Freie Volksbühne," with a membership at present of about 2,000 persons, which has been formed at Berlin for the purpose of "acquainting the people with poetry in its modern aspect, and especially of representing, reading, and explaining dramas which contain criticisms of the existing order of things and wage war against obsolete prejudices." Among the works which the repertory of this Socialist theatre is to include, are Tolstoi's "Powers of Darkness," Ibsen's "Ghosts," Zola's "Thérèse Raquin," and two most unequivocally revolutionary dramas of the young realistic school in Germany, viz., "Sonnenaufgang," by Gerhard Hauptmann, and "Dantons Tod," by Büchner. The regulations and by-laws of the Association are of a most democratic character. All persons over fourteen years of age are admitted to membership, the distribution of seats is to be arranged by lot, each member is entitled to at least one Sunday performance during the winter months, besides the week-day performances that he may attend. On the governing board of the society, which embraces, among other writers of more or less reputation, Otto Brahm, the well-known Schiller biographer, there appear at least three persons who would be classified as workingmen. As we may presume that the police also will not be slow to take an interest in the performances, there seems to be a good prospect of lively times at this theatre.

ADAM SEDGWICK.

The Life and Letters of the Rev. Adam Sedgwick, LL.D., D.C.L., F.R.S., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Prebendary of Norwich, Woodwardian Professor of Geology, 1818–1873. By John Willis Clark, M.A., and Thomas McKenney Hughes, M.A. 2 vols., 4to, pp. x., 539 and vii., 640. Numerous illustrations. Cambridge, England: University Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

TWELVE hundred pages may seem overmuch print to give to the biography of a man whose very name is doubtless unknown to most well-informed persons, and who passed away nearly twenty years ago. When we add that the subject of this great memoir was not a man of action, but a scholarly person whose title to fame rests upon his fair success in a long career as a teacher, and his very good, though limited, work in the science of geology, the monument seems at first sight excessively large. This impression will disappear as soon as the reader has entered on his task; he will find that, in the character of this person, which is admirably portrayed in these pages, there is full warrant for all the pains which the editors have taken to give a full account of his life. In them we have one of the most successful of the many recent efforts to delineate with patient accuracy the history of a man, from his cradle to his grave.

Adam Sedgwick was born in 1785, and died in 1873 in his eighty-eighth year. He came from a sturdy race of Yorkshire yeomen; his ancestors having been for three hundred years *statesmen*, or holders of small farms, in the dales and wide common pasturages in the unfenced hills. One of the most charming parts of this work consists of the vivid picture of this rural life which is given by sketches of its people and their ways from Sedgwick's own pen. Whoever would gain an idea concerning the source of Britain's strength should study this admirable picture of the people of the Dale of Dent, which he has traced with loving care. Their vigorous qualities were inherited by the subject of this memoir; he had that curious mixture of fierce strength and gentleness which is so often found among these northern British. Although Sedgwick was of rustic blood, his ancestors had evidently for some generations been people of more than ordinary culture for their place in life, and his father, the parson of the parish, was a graduate of Cambridge, and won a fair position in the mathematical tripos. To Cambridge, therefore, the son naturally found his way. He entered Trinity College at the age of nineteen, an uncouth lad who for some time found little social favor; gradually, however, his admirable qualities won him many and enduring friends. In four years he gained

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the rank of fifth wrangler, and in the opinion of the principal examiner he exhibited more inherent power than the men who were by the results of the examination placed above him.

The natural way for a needy young man who had won distinction in mathematics was to set up as a coach, and for some years Sedgwick followed this beaten path. In time he won a fellowship and then a permanent tutorship in Trinity College. The regulations required that fellows should be ordained as deacons within seven years after their election; apparently to meet this need, and not on account of any strong spiritual call to priestly duties, he at the last possible time entered the Church.

In 1818 came the incident of his election as Woodwardian Professor of Geology. The circumstances which led to his selection are curious, for they illustrate not only the quality of the man, but the singular condition of learning on the side of physical science in the early part of the century. The Woodwardian Professorship required celibacy of its incumbent. A certain professor, Hailstone, after having occupied the office with small profit to geological science for a number of years, married, and in this way the professorship became vacant. It appears clear that Sedgwick was ignorant of geology; he had had no opportunities for acquiring even the elements of that science, and his letters from Switzerland and from the lake district in England show no natural leaning towards this branch of learning. He does not seem to have been a bit abashed at his lack of acquirement, and he was elected by an overwhelming majority over a competitor who had received some training in the science. His predecessor, who had held the office for nearly thirty years, had never lectured. Sedgwick pledged himself to deliver an annual course, a pledge which he fulfilled faithfully for the fifty-four following years. The ease and speed with which he gained a practical knowledge of the subject, and the readiness with which he acquired the habit of the field geologist, are indeed surprising. Within three years he became a successful interpreter of difficult problems, and in five years after his beginning was fairly to be counted as among the most skilful field workers of Great Britain.

The best of Sedgwick's work began with his acquaintance with Roderick Impey Murchison. Murchison, like Sedgwick, had taken up geology rather late in life. He was a man of much less natural ability than Sedgwick, but of a far more persistent mind. Murchison gave his partner a share of his determination, and in return received the best part of his training in the art of interpreting the structure of the rocks. After several tours in Scotland, northern England, and on the Continent, these able men settled down to the study of the singularly difficult geology of western England and Wales. This work began about 1830, and though it led to an unhappy contest between these once warm friends, its results to geologic science were perhaps more important than those which have ever been attained from any equally narrowed field.

Until the labors of Sedgwick and Murchison, the strata below the level of the carboniferous had remained undivided, and had been little studied by geologists; to them the Germans had applied the common name of "Grauwacke": they were believed to represent the brief early conditions of the planet, and were supposed from their confusion to be essentially uninterpretable. It fell to Murchison, by the division of the field of operations, to pay most attention to the rocks extending from what is now termed the Devonian downward to the section still generally known as the lower Silurian. Sedgwick began his labors with the lowest determinable stratified rocks of Wales. These beds have been profoundly dislocated by the mountain-building forces, and greatly worn away by erosion. Sedgwick's labor upon them is, when we consider the lack of previous experience on the part of geologists in such tasks, entitled to be ranked as the greatest piece of inquiry which up to that time had been accomplished in the science. Throughout his work he shows a singular capacity for geometric conceptions—a capacity doubtless due in part to his considerable inheritance of mathematical talent and his thorough training in the elements of that science.

Sedgwick, working upward from the lower massive crystalline rocks, termed the series of deposits with which he had to deal the Cambrian, happily taking the name from the ancient geographic appellation of the country where they are found. Murchison, working downward from the horizon of the Devonian, named his series Silurian, from the title of an historic division of the Britons, the Silures. The result was, that Sedgwick's upper Cambrian denoted the same rocks which Murchison designated as lower Silurian, and hence arose a contest of many years' duration which divided English geologists into two hostile bands. There is a question of nature as well as of name in the matter, and the controversy is not entirely settled even at the present day. The masterly and very fair analysis of the debate contained in the last chapter of the second volume will be of great interest to all geologists. This analysis makes it plain that Sedgwick had a far better grasp of the problems he had in hand than Murchison, whose work was exceedingly confused, so that he had again and again to mend his pleas; and, but for the power which his position as Director of the Geological Survey gave him, there is hardly a doubt that Sedgwick's views would have quickly prevailed. In many ways this controversy has been the largest and the most enlightening of all those which have found a place in natural science. Unhappily it parted two able and admirable men who have done more to shape the science than any other students of Britain.

The effects of this debate upon Sedgwick were most unhappy. In his prime they turned him away from geology, and so lost to the science the services of perhaps the ablest interpreter of British strata who has ever dealt with their more complicated problems. Sedgwick's mind was of the discursive order. The manifold questions of University politics absorbed his attention to the end of his days, and, after the outbreak of the quarrel with Murchison, except for his services as teacher, he did little good work for science. Throughout his life he was characterized by a singular incapacity to appreciate the work of others. Thus, when the Darwinian hypothesis came, he could find no good whatever in it. He not only denied the general conclusion, but failed to perceive the masterly nature of the essay which was apparent to most of those who rejected its principal conclusions. This incapacity appears to have been due to the singular excurrent quality of his mind. The outgoing tide of his thought and feeling was so strong that it seemed to brush away all knowledge which did not come to him through personal experience.

In the pages of this memoir we constantly come in contact with beautiful pictures of English life, throughout the wide scale from the household of the Queen, with whom he enjoyed a somewhat remarkable intimacy, to that of the humblest dalesman of his native valley. The present writer knows of no English biography which is as rich in incident of personal contact. So far as possible, the editors have permitted Sedgwick to tell his own story through his numerous and admirable letters. They give a most vivid picture of a vigorous, loving nature, and incidentally they afford one of the saddest commentaries which can be imagined of the effects of the required celibacy of the old universities on their abler men. Sedgwick was naturally a family man, but he was held so firmly to a monastic life that he never had the courage to break away from it. The picture of the man in his later years, hungering for a household, grasping at every chance to get some share, through his sympathies, of that side of human life, is indeed sorrowful.

The book is admirably printed, and has a good though somewhat insufficient index. Some blunders occur in this index, of which perhaps the most notable is the statement that Alexander Agassiz met Sedgwick at Edinburgh in 1834, which happens, in fact, to have been before Alexander Agassiz was born. The text generally, however, is so good that it requires a rather microscopic eye to detect the faults.

CAPITAL AND INTEREST.

Capital and Interest; A Critical History of Economical Theory. By Eugen V. Boehm-Bawerk, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Innsbruck. Translated, with a preface and analysis, by William A. Smart, M.A., Lecturer on Political Economy in Queen Margaret College, Glasgow. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

We will begin our examination of Prof. Boehm-Bawerk's remarkable treatise where he ends it, premising, however, that the present volume is only a negation of previously accepted theories of the phenomenon of interest, and has been followed by a second, 'The Positive Theory of Capital,' which is not now before us. The question which the author seeks to answer is, How does it come about that capital always and everywhere yields a surplus value over the cost of its own replacement? Errors of human judgment may of course now and then result in the loss of both capital and interest without affecting the law (whatever that law is) by virtue of which the former is preserved from age to age, and yields all the time something, over and above its own wear and tear, which is called interest.

In his last chapter the author says: "The interest problem in its last resort is a problem of *value*." In other words, before solving the problem of interest, Prof. Boehm-Bawerk proposes to solve the most stubborn of all economical problems—a problem which, although supposed to have been set at rest many times and by many distinguished men, is ever and anon coming back to us with some puzzle that contradicts the solution. Value, says the orthodox political economy, is regulated by cost of production. So says Macvane; we cite his elementary work because it is the latest that comes to us from a writer of real and recognized ability, of the school of the prophets. Prof. Macvane has grouped in one chapter the exceptions to this law of value, and we are thus spared the trouble of searching the prophets in order to find them. The cases in which value is *not* regulated by cost of production are no less than seven, viz.: (1) "Simple gifts of the Creator"; (2) products that cannot be increased in supply, such as old pictures and statuary, relics of antiquity, things covered by patent and copyright, etc.; (3) products of highly skilled labor; (4) pro-

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ducts exchanged between distant places where there is no effective competition (Cairnes, it may be remarked, while an adherent of the cost-of-production theory, casts out at one shovelful all articles of international trade); (5) things having a joint cost of production, such as hides and beef, since it may happen that the demand for hides may be such that cattle will be slaughtered for their hides only, so that the value of beef may be reduced to zero; (6) arbitrary exceptions, such as things produced by slave labor, things sold below cost for advertising purposes, etc.; (7) articles produced by "combines" and Trusts. After enumerating these things that are outside the law, Prof. Macvane says:

"It must not be inferred from the space devoted to exceptional commodities in this chapter that they constitute a very large proportion of all the things bought and sold, or that their value departs very widely from the ordinary rule. Compared with the great mass of exchanges subject to the ordinary rule, they are very small in amount; and the extent of their departure from the common law of value is not often great."

Without entering into particulars, for which we have not space, it may be said that if another law of value could be found which was not subject to these exceptions, or to any, it would be pretty sure, sooner or later, to supersede the old law, although the latter has the sanction of such names as Adam Smith, Ricardo, J. S. Mill, Cairnes, and Bagehot. The other law of value, affirmed rather than worked out in the volume before us, is, that value depends upon human wants and satisfactions, and not upon cost of production at all. To state it shortly, we value a thing at so much because it answers our wants and because there is a limit to its supply. Given our wants and given the supply, it is immaterial to buyers what the cost of production may have been. Of course Prof. Boehm-Bawerk is not the first to propound this theory of value. He assigns the place of honor to Menger, who laid down the formula that value does not depend upon cost of production, but cost of production does depend upon value. In other words, if a thing is worth so much in the market, a corresponding amount of cost will be incurred to produce it. But before Menger the idea crops out here and there that demand is the cause of value, and if it is the cause, why should it not "regulate" value, *i. e.*, cause it to be greater or less at different times and places? We recall at this point an admirable brochure by Mr. M. L. Scudder, jr., of Chicago, entitled, 'The Labor Value Fallacy,' published a few years ago, which goes on all fours with Prof. Boehm-Bawerk's destructive examination of the theories of Karl Marx (pp. 367-391).

"The acute Jevons," as Prof. Boehm-Bawerk points out, came very near propounding a satisfactory definition of value, and with it a satisfactory explanation of interest. He failed in the latter particular by confounding surplus production with surplus value. It does not follow that because the use of capital multiplies useful products it therefore creates surplus value. The increased quantity may have really less value, *i. e.*, may command a less quantity of other goods, than a diminished quantity would have had. This is often observed in the grain markets, where a partial failure of the wheat harvest may bring the cultivators more money than a full crop. Davenant's empirical law is acted upon by grain speculators the world over, even though they have never heard of it.

Now the task to which Prof. Boehm-Bawerk has set himself is just this: Why does capital bring into the world not merely more useful things, but more *value*, than resides in itself, so that the possessors of capital can derive an income from it either with or without their own personal exertions, from year to year and from generation to generation, and without doing any harm or wrong to any other persons, but, on the contrary, with benefit and advantage to them? The work before us is a clearing of the ground, a sweeping away of all former theories on the subject, and we say frankly that we think the author has demolished them all by a rigid yet perfectly fair and courteous treatment of them. The amount of learning he has brought to bear upon the subject is prodigious. He begins with the historical opposition to interest based partly on economical, but mainly on religious grounds, traces the struggle down to the triumph of interest wrought out by the sheer needs of mankind rather than by the force of argument, and then takes up one by one the various theories that have been advanced to solve the interest problem as stated above.

We can do hardly more than name these theories here. Turgot's Fructification theory is shown to be wrong because it was merely arguing in a circle. Land, said Turgot, yields a net product. But every man can convert his capital into land if he wants to, therefore capital not invested in land must yield a net product also, since otherwise the owners of it would buy land. Does this explain interest? No more than the fact of interest would explain the rent of land; for since the owners of capital can get interest for it, and since land can be sold for capital, therefore land must yield a surplus, since otherwise, etc., etc. Adam Smith had no distinctive theory of interest. Ricardo held that in the process of production rent and wages are determined, or at all events determinable, quantities, and that profit (which includes interest) is the remainder. But this does not show why there should be any remainder, and therefore does not touch the interest problem. The "naïve Productivity theory," which embraces among its supporters J. B. Say and Leroy-Beaulieu, and has some countenance from Roscher, tells us in a roundabout way that interest exists because capital is productive. Productive of what? Of value, or of surplus value? The naïve Productivity theory does not really show why capital reproduces itself; still less does it show why it produces a little more than itself, to wit, interest.

Another set of Productivity theorists, among them Lord Lauderdale (an acute thinker), Malthus, H. C. Carey, and Strasburger, attempted to explain why increased production, due to the employment of capital, is accompanied by surplus value. They all failed, but the only one who failed ridiculously was Carey, of whom Prof. Boehm-Bawerk says:

"Carey offers one of the very worst examples of confused thinking on a subject where there has already been much confusion. What he says on interest is a tissue of incredibly clumsy and wanton mistakes—mistakes of such a nature that it is almost inconceivable how they should ever have received any consideration in the scientific world."

The Use theory, which separates capital, as it were, into a body and a soul, and considers the use of it as something distinct from the possession of it, has eminent names to support it. Storch, Nebenius, Hermann, Schaeffle, Knies, and Menger are grouped under this head. The culmination of the Use theory is found in Menger, who, as already mentioned, turned the definition of value around end for end, making value the regulator of cost of production instead of cost of production the regulator of value. "To Menger, then," says Prof. Boehm-Bawerk, "belongs the great merit of having distinctly answered this preliminary question. In doing so he has definitely and for all time indicated the point at which and the direction in which the interest problem is to be solved." Nevertheless, the Use theory, in this its best estate, failed to explain interest, because it was based upon a fiction, namely, the existence of a use of capital as an independent value distinct from the capital itself. Prof. Boehm-Bawerk follows the metaphysics of political economy into its cave, and smokes it out, but we cannot stop to indicate the process. The conclusion is quite satisfactory. Equally satisfactory is the showing that even if there were a use value independent of the capital itself, it would still come short of explaining interest.

The next nut to be cracked is Senior's Abstinence theory. This celebrated and generally accepted doctrine maintains that when an owner of capital abstains from consuming it and applies it to production, he makes a sacrifice. Abstinence thus becomes a cost of production. It must be paid for just like labor and materials. This is extremely plausible, especially after other theories of interest have been tried and found wanting. Moreover, it tallies with the fact that waiting is an element everywhere present in the phenomenon of interest. But taking the theory as it is stated—that the late Mr. Vanderbilt, for example, when he abstained from consuming his capital of one or two hundred millions of dollars, made a sacrifice—let us ask how much he ought to be paid for it. The interest tables say at least four million dollars per year. But, in point of fact, if he had attempted to consume the tenth part of his capital, he would probably have killed himself. To consume it would have been a much greater sacrifice than to keep it. So this theory goes by the board along with the others.

The Exploitation theory of Rodbertus and Marx explains interest as simply a game of grab. The owners of capital plunge their hands into the stream of wealth and take out what they want. They want all that the laborers can possibly spare. They are enabled to do this because the laborers who produce the wealth are oppressed and hampered by their wants. These must have their food and raiment day by day. They cannot wait. The capitalist can wait. Therefore he takes his advantage. He exploits labor. Prof. Boehm-Bawerk has much respect for Rodbertus, but very little for Marx, whose easy sophism, veiled under the ever-recurring phrase "socially necessary labor," is subjected to a merciless analysis. This is not the first exposure of Marx's sophistry, but it is the best that we have seen. It fully justifies the statement of Mr. Smart, in his preface, that "the crushing confutation of the labor-value theory is work that will not require to be done twice in economic science, and the vindication of interest as a price for an economic service or good suggested by the very nature of things (which may be modified, but cannot be prevented), will necessitate reconsideration by the Socialist party of their official economic basis."

The Exploitation theory requires that the laborer should have to-day all that the product of his labor will be worth when it is finished and sold, which may be a year or any number of years hence. Manifestly this cannot be. Present goods have more *value* than future goods. Here we get an inkling of the true explanation of interest. In the nature of things, a certain portion of *value*

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is due to the lapse of time, as when an acorn is planted which will be an oak one hundred years hence. The laborer cannot be paid the value of an oak for his service in planting an acorn, because nobody can get that value till the hundred years have passed. Similarly, laborers cannot have the whole value of cotton cloth, because time is required for spinning, weaving, dyeing, packing, carting, and waiting for buyers. Capital enables us to wait, and capital must be paid for this service, which is as real a service as any labor employed in production.

But we must not anticipate Prof. Boehm-Bowerk's second volume. We have read the first volume with increasing interest from the first page to the last. Although it consists almost wholly of destructive criticism, it is very necessary work. We recall nothing of the kind equal to it. Even though he may not have said the last word on the particular subject of his inquiry, he has said enough to fix his place in the front rank of the world's economists.

THREE FRENCH NOVELS.

Une Gageure. Par Victor Cherbuliez. Paris: Hachette & Cie.; New York: Christern, 1890.

La Dernière Bataille. Par Édouard Drumont. Paris: E. Dentu; New York: Christern. 1890.

Le Capitaine Sans-Façon, 1813. Par Gilbert Augustin-Thierry. Paris: A. Colin & Cie.; New York: Christern. 1890. 12mo, pp. viii., 339.

Two strongly contrasting young women are the chief figures in Cherbuliez's latest novel. One of them is the Duchesse d'Armanches, a beauty who belongs to the great world of fashion, but who finds time hang heavy on her hands with a stupid and invalid husband. This would be, indeed, too heavy a burden to be borne if the Duchess had not the happy faculty —happy for herself—of throwing herself completely at any moment into the caprice of the moment, and so making life a comedy in which she is both actor and audience. She paints, she sings, she reads Plato in a translation, she takes a fancy to Claire Vionnaz, whom she makes her companion and confidant. Claire Vionnaz, the other young woman, is also at times beautiful, and always simple-minded in the best sense, though the gentlest of readers is forced to confess that she occasionally seems simple-minded to him in a sense which is less good. She is completely cajoled by the Duchess, and believes that their friendship is of the antique Roman sort.

To these women, at the château of the Duchess, appears the hero of the tale, M. le Comte de Louvaigue, who, after some love-making addressed to the belle Cécile, asks seriously the belle Claire to marry him. She consents at once, naturally, for she has sworn often to live and die unwed. The Duchess, as one might well expect, is not pleased with this match, and does her best to break it off by sowing doubts in the minds of the lovers as to the quality and quantity of the affection by which they are inspired. Hence arises the wager which gives its title to the book. The Duchess bets with M. de Louvaigue that his wife will never love him, and the forfeit is to be one of her smiles if he wins, or a fuller consolation if he loses. There is no need to follow up the story of this most delicate of all wagers to its end. M. Cherbuliez leads his readers through all its involutions, and windings, and chances, and changes, and perils, till at last Satan is baffled and the weakly indulgent Providence whose domain lies behind the footlights pours blessings on the heads of a happy couple.

M. Cherbuliez is one of the chief novelists of France. Some critics call him the most perfect of French writers. But when one lays down such a book as 'Une Gageure,' how can he help asking himself some questions? Is this life? Are these smooth-gliding, well-dressed images men and women? Is all this aplomb, this smooth flow of talk, that sparkles with wit to be sure, but never hesitates or is at a loss, these measured voices—are these characteristic of human passion? And, doubtless, the reader will conclude that they are, if he believes that life is a sort of minuet, and that men and women generally live and love and are happy or miserable in strict accordance with the best rules of good manners.

The title of M. Édouard Drumont's last unhappy book raises false hopes in the reader's mind. The first impression that it gives—an impression which a perusal of the volume goes far towards confirming—is that its author has grown weary of his ridiculous Jew-killing crusade, and is merely striking one last blow as he leaves the field. It is not, perhaps, absolutely impossible that this may turn out to be true; but M. Drumont obviously does not intend that it shall be so, for he announces on his fly-leaf that 'L'Europe Juive' is in preparation, and no one can guess whether a series long as the 'Biographie Universelle' may not follow in its train. It is four years since M. Drumont entered on his anti-Semitic campaign, and each year since 1886 has seen a new volume from his pen that needed no signature to identify it as his. Each one held up the Jew to scorn as a parasite and a robber at all times and everywhere, and especially as the cause of every social disorder and distemper that afflicts France. The Jew, he maintains, is a microbe, a bacillus, that spreads throughout society corruption and disease and death. His talk is much of it mere raving, but he does not seem to be mad.

Some have thought that his fanaticism was a simple attitude, assumed with an eye to the main chance—an *affaire de librairie*. But, though the book that we have in hand did pass its eightieth thousand within a fortnight, one is not driven inevitably to the conclusion that avarice was the sole begetter of it. Its tone suggests that there must be some personal grievance rankling in its author's mind, some slight to repay, some insult to throw back. The spirit of it is as far as possible remote from the *sæva indignatio* of Swift. M. Drumont's heart is not torn: it seems to be no more than his skin that is scratched. And, besides, one feels in reading him that he is more than anything else an agitator, and that he is not without a consciousness that cries and contortions have their use in drawing a crowd, some of whom may listen to him.

There are, on the other hand, many things in him that are attractive. He is clever, very amusing in his way, seldom tiresome, and one who never lets the truth spoil a good story. An ardent Catholic and royalist, an aristocrat in feeling, though by birth of the lower class of the bourgeoisie, a Socialist, a newspaper writer, a Bohemian, a thorough Parisian, compact of half-a-dozen different sorts of men, he is interesting if only as a puzzle. We said that some of the characteristics of the book in hand gave an impression that it marked the end of M. Drumont's crusade. It is plainly a collection of odds and ends, thrown together with no attempt at order and unity. It suggests the sweeping out of drawers, the ransacking of portfolios, the clearing up of the writing-table for new work. In the heterogeneous mass one finds idyls of country life, dry financial discourse, a long account of the secret history of the Panama Canal, a demolition of Boulanger by means of chiromancy, an extended account of the author's life and brief ancestry, some entertaining literary gossip, and a thousand other things clever or dull. There are some interesting pages on M. Drumont's friendship for Alphonse Daudet—a bond which, it is to be hoped, may not be destroyed by M. Bonnières's recent discovery that Daudet is an equivalent of Davidet, "un nom Juif provençalisé." One does not wonder that the book is read: only it ought never to have been written.

'Le Capitaine Sans-Façon' is not a new book, but only a worked-over edition of one published in 1882; neither can it be considered, as its author largely calls it, an historical novel, for it is nothing more than an expanded sketch of unimportant events in a remote corner of France during the First Empire. Its author, who appears to take himself and his book very seriously, pursues the unusual course of printing in an appendix a number of documents designed to serve as vouchers for the fidelity of his picture, but which only betray how little of interest he has added to the facts which were ready to his hand. Most of what he has added is, indeed, far from being an improvement of his raw materials; he inserts one or two wholly irrelevant chapters of stereotyped French patriotism or vain-glory, which are more than usually offensive and out of place in view of the revelations of corruption and all manner of vileness in official circles, and of brutish ignorance and immorality among the country population, with which his pages are filled. The state of things he describes is a familiar feature in the current conception of France under Napoleon III.; but to find that under the real Napoleon the nation was no better and no better off than under his pinchbeck imitator, is not congruous with French claims to leadership in civilization.

In the matter of style M. Augustin-Thierry can hardly be said to atone for other deficiencies; he cultivates assiduously the mechanical epigram and metallic brilliancy that characterize contemporary French style, and produce a stencil-plate species of effect similar to that of a ballet dancer's smile. In spite of its faults, however, the book is not without interest as describing events which lie out of the beaten track, and throwing new side-lights on the French national character. It can be recommended, also, as being inoffensive from an almost entire absence of the lubricity which constitutes so large an element in French light literature. Its subject-matter is concerned with the depredations of a small band of highwaymen, who are saved from utter vulgarity by being the instruments of a half-royalist, half-religious conspiracy, and owe much of their brief success to the low condition of the peasantry and the wildness of the country.

An Introduction to the Study of Dante. By John Addington Symonds. 2d ed. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. 1890. Sm. 8vo, pp. xii., 288.

Mr. Symonds writes too readily upon many important subjects to write well upon them all, and this is not one of his best books. It exhibits his characteristic fluency of style, his facility of acquisition, and his breadth of culture, but it shows also a lack of thorough knowledge, as well as of the thought that penetrates to the core of a matter. The first edition of this essay was published seventeen years ago, and this new edition appears improved by the correction of mistakes and mis-

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prints, by the removal of several doubtful statements, and, as Mr. Symonds says, "by the adjustment of some points of criticism to the present standard of Dante literature." There remain, however, many points in which this adjustment has not been made.

The recent brilliant development of critical literary studies in Italy has had hardly any more conspicuous result than the change it has wrought in respect to the biography of Dante. The outlines of his life remain, indeed, well-established and unaltered; but many of the details with which those outlines have hitherto been filled up, have, one after another, been shown to be either false or doubtful, until, as Signor Bartoli declares at the beginning of his volume on the life of the poet, it has become obvious that the lives of him hitherto written are in great part romances, fabricated, indeed, in good faith, but not the less essentially untrustworthy. All, even the most erudite, from Balbo to Wegele, though they may contain much information in regard to the history of Dante's time, fail as biographies to stand the test of critical examination. Mr. Symonds has based that part of his essay which relates to Dante's life on these old and formerly accepted narratives, and he naturally repeats the errors that have grown familiar.

It is a minor matter, but it is an illustration of Mr. Symonds's too frequent habit of assertion upon an imperfect basis of knowledge or reflection, that, in speaking of Dante's life in exile, he says: "Dante's works, unfortunately, contain no reference to England, though he shows familiarity with Paris and also with the Flemish towns." But in fact there is more than one reference to England in the 'Divine Comedy,' and there is nothing in the poem or in Dante's other works that shows any greater familiarity with Paris or the Flemish towns than with London. A local reference to London occurs in the verse (*Inf.* xii, 120), in which Dante describes Guy de Montfort, the murderer of Prince Henry, son of Richard Duke of Cornwall, as

"he who cleft
The heart that on the Thames is still revered"

—that is, the heart of Prince Henry, which was said to be preserved in a golden vase on the tomb of Edward the Confessor in Westminster Abbey. The only passage, so far as we recall, which indicates any local knowledge of Paris, is that (*Par.* x, 138) where the Rue de Feurre or du Fouarre is mentioned, as the street in which Sigier lectured; and as for the towns of Flanders, the only verse of note relating to them is that (*Inf.* xv, 4-6) in which Dante refers to the dykes between Wissant and Bruges, built to protect them from the flood of the sea. No one of these passages is such as to prove that Dante had seen the places to which he refers, and one affords as much indication as the others that he had done so.*

No poet has give a fuller or more instructive narrative of his real life—his inner life of spiritual experience—than Dante, in his various writings, and it is the great defect of Mr. Symonds's work, as an introduction to the study of Dante, that it fails to afford any adequate account of this moral and intellectual autobiography, or to show the mutual relations of the different works of the poet, and the light which each of them throws upon the others as well as upon the character of the writer. The relation between the 'New Life' and the 'Divine Comedy' is too close to be missed, but the 'Convito' is of even more importance to the proper understanding of the great poem than the 'New Life' itself; and to the 'Convito,' and to its essential contribution to knowledge of Dante's nature, studies, and thought, Mr. Symonds makes hardly a reference. He does not describe its purpose or its contents, and he cites but a single passage from it.

The chapters devoted to the 'Divine Comedy' contain some delicate and suggestive criticisms of minor points, but show no grasp of the great meaning and substantial qualities of the poem. Nor are they without errors which a careful student would have avoided. For instance, in speaking of the symmetry of the structure of the three spiritual realms, Mr. Symonds says: "There are nine circles in hell, nine cornices in purgatory, nine spheres in paradise." But in truth purgatory has but seven cornices, and the correspondence with the nine-fold divisions of the other realms is secured by the ante-purgatory at the base, and the terrestrial paradise at the summit of the purgatorial mountain. So again, on the same leaf, he states that the *Inferno* is shorter than the *Purgatorio* by thirty lines, than the *Paradiso* by twenty-four. If these facts were worth mentioning, it was worth while to give them accurately: the *Purgatorio* is longer than the *Inferno* by thirty-five, and the *Paradiso* by thirty-eight verses. These are trifles, but they have a bearing on greater things.

When the serious student of the poem reads in the contents of Mr. Symonds's book that "Dante's personality, untainted by Symbolism, [is] the main interest of the 'Divine Comedy,'" he marvels that one who holds such an opinion should find it worth while to write an 'Introduction to the Study of Dante.' But books about Dante with much less good in them than this have been written.

The Defence of Charleston Harbor, including Fort Sumter and the adjacent islands. 1863-1865. By John Johnson, formerly Major of Engineers in the service of the Confederate States, with original papers in appendix, full official reports, maps, and illustrations. Charleston, S. C.: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co. 1890.

THIS handsome volume ought to meet with a wide reception, North as well as South. It is written from the Confederate standpoint, for the author, now well known as the rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, was during the war an officer of engineers, who distinguished himself in the defence of Fort Sumter. But his book seems to us to be a thoroughly fair and dispassionate narrative, and the subject is certainly one of the most interesting and dramatic of the operations of the war. It is a story of fighting by land and by sea, of the employment of novel engines of war of tremendous power, of armored ships, of torpedoes and torpedo boats, of strong walls of masonry battered down, of almost impregnable works constructed of earth and sand, of gallant and desperate assaults, and of steady, unflinching, and heroic resistance. It is a story well worth telling in detail, and well worth the trouble of illustrating with pictures and maps, as is done here with so much pains. We have capital views of the interior of Fort Sumter after the several bombardments, besides careful drawings of separate portions of the work; there are portraits of many of the principal officers, chiefly those on the Southern side, and good maps. Maj. Johnson's style is clear. He is commendably free from the tendency to excessive eulogy of his own people so common in books of this character, as he also is from any tinge of bitterness when speaking of the Federal commanders and their men.

The narrative does not comprise the history of the first two years; it begins with the attack on Fort Sumter by Admiral Du Pont on April 7, 1863, in which the iron-clad monitors, from which so much was expected, accomplished so little. Maj. Johnson's description of this famous fight is very good; he makes due allowance for most of the unprecedented difficulties which attended the conduct of ships of such a novel construction and of an armament so extremely liable to get out of order; but we hardly think that he has sufficiently considered that the Federal commanders cared much less about the loss of their ships, or about the loss of their own lives or of those of their men, than about the acquisition by their enemy of such powerful engines of war as these monitors were, and that it was from this perfectly reasonable cause that the attack was made in the cautious and circumspect way which at the time seemed to the Confederates so unaccountable. Compare, in the Scribner series, 'The Atlantic Coast,' by Admiral Ammen, page 161.

It is, however, to the systematic operations initiated by Gen. Gillmore that the greater part of the narrative is devoted. That distinguished engineer officer, having the previous year reduced Fort Pulaski in the Savannah River by means of batteries the construction of which had been concealed until they were ready to open fire, and which were a mile distant from the fort, was confident of being able to repeat this feat, and even to improve upon it, when he was ordered to Charleston Harbor. His plan was to silence, and practically to destroy, Fort Sumter, thereby, as he calculated, rendering it possible for the fleet to pass up the channel, removing the obstructions without interference, and reduce the city. Maj. Johnson does full justice to the ability with which the Federal commanders kept secret the construction of their formidable works on Folly Island, and planned and carried out the surprise and capture of the Confederate defences on the southern end of Morris Island on July 10, 1863. He is disposed to think that Fort (or Battery, as the Confederates called it) Wagner might have been carried, if it had been assaulted without delay—an opinion which many Union officers have always entertained. The attack, however, was not made till the next morning, and then, the garrison having been heavily reinforced, it failed. Our loss was heavy. A week later came the desperate assault led by Col. Shaw and his black regiment, in which some 2,000 gallant officers and men fell. This severe loss was, in the opinion of our author, entirely unnecessary.

"Twice foiled in his attempts to get possession of Battery Wagner, the Union commander changed his plans in two leading particulars. Battery Wagner was now to be besieged by regular approaches, and Fort Sumter was to be demolished from ground already in his possession. The heavy Parrott rifle-guns, 100, 200, and 300-pounders, which had been brought to Morris Island for this purpose might, in fact, have been put in position earlier than they were, and both of those disastrous assaults on Wagner avoided. The range of these large Parrott rifles was something unprecedented in warfare, being from 4,000 to 8,000 yards, and that secured the demolition of Fort Sumter without any respect to Wagner" (pp. 107, 108).

This is, perhaps, the most important criticism that Major Johnson has to make on Gen. Gillmore's operations.

Our author's descriptions of life in Fort

* There are three other references to England, or English affairs, in the 'Divine Comedy,' one (*Purg.* vii, 131) where among the kings "Henry of England [Henry III.], the king of the simple life," is seen seated alone; another (*Par.* xix, 122) where the poet condemns that pride

"Which makes the Scot and Englishman so mad
That they within their boundaries cannot rest;"

and the third, in the striking self-condemnation of Bertrand de Born (*Inf.* xxviii, 135), as, "I was he who gave to the young King the ill encouragements"—the counsels, that is, by which Prince Henry was made rebellious to his father, Henry II.

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Sumter during the terrible battering to which it was subjected are exceedingly interesting. Nothing could exceed the patience, courage, alertness, and resolute and unwavering determination of its defenders. The ingenuity displayed in remedying the terrible effects of our fire, the unfaltering submission to the hardships occasioned by its severity, and by its being protracted for days and nights until the strain on body and mind together must have been simply fearful, are depicted with a calmness and also with a naturalness that leave nothing to be desired.

Maj. Johnson's military criticisms contained in his fourteenth and last chapter are carefully made, and are doubtless in the main sound. The appendices are several of them valuable. That entitled "Notes of Ironclad Warfare, 1854-1882," and that on "The Strategic Value of Morris Island," are perhaps the best. We have no hesitation in welcoming this book as a very valuable addition to our military history.

B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783. Vol. V., Nos. 454-564. Issued to the subscribers at 4 Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross, London. August, 1890.

THE papers contained in this instalment of Mr. Stevens's great publication deal with matters already treated in the previous volumes, and especially with the Commission sent out in 1778 to propose terms of reconciliation. Incidentally we get Sir Henry Clinton's account of the battle of Monmouth Court-House, which has not, we believe, been published before:

"With regard to the affair of Monmouth, I knew Washington could have passed the defiles with nothing but his Avant Garde. I knew Lord Cornwallis's Division was equal to that, and therefore I attacked. I saw that Attack must Operate on the troops sent round my flanks, which accordingly happened and Lee wisely quitted, And when I had secured the first defilé, which I might have held against the World, I tried the Experiment a little further, for had Washington been blockhead enough to sustain Lee, I should have catched him between two defilés, and it is easy to see what must have happened. Having drove everything over both defilés, it was not for me to give him the advantage I had lately taken by Attacking him so posted, nor indeed could I have done it, as the Troops were fairly spent. Having fulfilled my first and great object, given time for my Baggage to move into safety, the Troops retired to the first defilé, and the Rebels repassed the second and took post on advantageous ground. The 33d Regiment, and 1st Battalion of Grenadiers attacked handsomely. The rebels quitted in confusion, and thus ended the Fray, for tho' it was two hours before the 33d Regiment (making the Rear Guard) joined us at the defilé, not a Shot was fired during that time.

"It may be asked whether the Orders of the 28th relative to reinforcements were obeyed, and if not, wherefore: All I can say is that I sent the first Order by a Deputy Adjutant General,—to assist his Memory it was written,—it was addressed to General Grant, whose Division I had left not half an hour before,—the Deputy Adjt General reported to General Grant the Order he was entrusted with, and General Grant referred him to General Knyphausen. Whether he was right in so doing, he best knows. As nothing happened, I was silent. The second Order was sent and delivered by the Captain of the Guides, but was not obeyed. I will be free, however, to own I am glad it was not, as with those Troops I marched on to Middletown, where I thought it possible the Enemy might try to prevent me. Which position I took, and soon quitted, wishing Mr. Washington might take it, and if he had, I was determined to Attack him, as that was to be done with advantage. We had not a day's provision left when we opened our Communication with the fleet."

The claim, often made, that Monmouth Court-House was a victory for the Americans, seems to us to rest on a misapprehension. Sir Henry Clinton was retreating across New Jersey. It was the object of Washington to harass his retreat and capture a part of his baggage train, which Sir Henry pronounces in this report to have been "wantonly enormous." That object was not accomplished. The British reached Sandy Hook without the loss of a wagon. Whether Lee "wisely quitted," as Clinton says, or whether he fled ignominiously, as most Americans believe, the affair was for Washington tactically a failure. Yet it may well be that at that time a tactical failure which could be represented as a victory was worth something to the American cause.

The Theory of Light. By Thomas Preston. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

MR. PRESTON'S work occupies a position between that of an elementary work on optics and that of an exhaustive treatise on the theory of radiant energy. It presupposes a fair acquaintance with the fundamental laws of optics and a good knowledge of the higher mathematics. It is on the whole well and clearly written, and cannot fail to be of service to those who wish for more than an elementary treatise, or a guide to the elaborate and difficult treatment of the subject, such as we now find only in French and German works. The initial chapter gives a brief history of the science of optics; an account of the discovery of the velocity of light and the development of the corpuscular theory, and an introduction to the wave theory. The rest of the work is mainly devoted to applications of the theory. We notice a number of points not usually treated even in more complete works, and very welcome to students. Thus, we have an elementary deduction of the average kinetic energy of a vibrating particle; a short section on the group velocity of a train of waves; a reference to Osborne Reynolds's dynamical explanation of the fact that a group of deep-water waves advances with only half the rapidity of the individual waves; the principle of least time (or law of Fermat), now rarely stated in text-books; and some interesting notices of graphic methods in problems relating to diffraction, of which Cornu's spiral is the most novel. Under the head of rotatory polarization we have a notice of the Kerr effects and Jellett's analyzer; under that of dispersion, an account of Kundt's observations on anomalous dispersion.

The subject of the measurement of the velocity of light is quite fully treated, and justice is done to the fine work of Prof. Michelson of Clark University. Strangely enough, the work of Prof. Newcomb is not even alluded to. An account of the admirable researches of Michelson and Morley on the relative motion of matter and ether finds a well-deserved place, and the work concludes with a chapter on electro-magnetic radiation which, of course, includes the recent splendid work of Hertz. On the other hand, there are one or two omissions, chief of which is the theory of the prism, which is given very briefly and incompletely. The chapter on caustics appears to us superfluous, as the subject is almost purely geometrical and of little or no physical significance. On the whole, Mr. Preston's work will serve a good purpose in instruction and deserves favorable notice.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Brief Digest to Volumes VII to XII of American State Reports. San Francisco: Bancroft, Whitney Co.
Adams, H. History of the United States of America during the First Administration of James Madison. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. $4.
Alexander, Mrs. Blind Fate. Henry Holt & Co. $1.
Amherst Memories: A Collection of Undergraduate Verse. Union Theological Seminary, New York: A. B. MacNeill. $1.
Bell, E. Handbook of Athletic Sports. 2 vols. Scribner & Welford. $4.
Besant, W. Children of Gibeon. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Drayton, H. S. Human Magnetism. Fowler & Wells Co.
Eellaw, A. Her Royal Lover. Street & Smith.
Field, E. A Little Book of Profitable Tales. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Field, E. A Little Book of Western Verse. Charles Scribner's Sons.
Fitts, J. F. The Struggle for Maverick. Street & Smith.
Frémont, Mrs. Jessie B. Far-West Sketches. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.
German Newspaper Directory. New York: Tobias Bros.
Gillette, L. F. W. Editorials and Other Waifs. Fowler & Wells Co.
Himmel, E. von. Oceanides. Boston: Ernst von Himmel Pub. Co. 50 cents.
Horton, R. F. Inspiration and the Bible. 2d ed. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Ingalls, J. M. Handbook of Problems in Direct Fire. John Wiley & Sons. $4.
Jæger, H. Henrik Ibsen: A Critical Biography. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.50.
Mabie, H. W. My Study Fire. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Mackintosh, J. The Story of Scotland. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Masson, D. The collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey. Vol. XI. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Mercer, F. H. F. The Spaniel and its Training. *Forest and Stream* Publishing Co. $1.
Meredith, W. T. Not of Her Father's Race. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Moulton, Louise Chandler. Stories Told at Twilight. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.25.
Newhall, C. S. The Trees of Northeastern America. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.
Plympton, A. G. Dear Daughter Dorothy. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Robinson, F. W. The Keeper of the Keys. John W. Lovell Co. 50 cents.
Rolfe, W. J. Shakespeare's Poems. With Notes. Harper & Bros.
Russell, E. F. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie: A Memoir. 2d ed. E. & J. B. Young & Co. $2.
Saint-Amand, I. de. Citizeness Bonaparte. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Sauveur, L. Petites Causeries. F. W. Christern.
Schaff, P., and Wace, H. A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. The Christian Literature Co. $3.
Schurman, J. G. Belief in God. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Sessions, F. C. From the Land of the Midnight Sun to the Volga. Welch, Fracker & Co.
Sessions, F. C. From Yellowstone Park to Alaska. Welch, Fracker & Co.
Smith, F. H. Through Abyssinia: An Envoy's Ride to the King of Zion. A. C. Armstrong & Son $2.
Smith, G. J. Synopsis of English and American Literature. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.20.
Sporting Sketches by Diane Chasseresse. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Stephens, F. G. Memorials of William Mulready. Scribner & Welford. $1.25.
Sterne, S. Piero da Castiglione. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Steuart, J. A. Kilgroom: A Story of Ireland. Belford Co. 50 cents.
Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts relating to America from 1763 to 1783. Vol. V. London: B. F. Stevens.
Stockton, F. R. Ardis Claverden. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.50.
Stoddard, W. O. Chuck Purdy. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Stone, Mrs. C. H. One of "Berrian's" Novels. Welch, Fracker & Co.
Stuart, E. The Vicomte's Bride. John W. Lovell Co. 50 cents.
Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica: Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Swan, H. Traveller's Colloquial French. Brentano's.
The Adventures of Thomas Pellow of Penryn, Mariner. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
The Anglomaniacs. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.
The Finger New Testament. Thomas Nelson & Sons.
The Iron Chancellor in Private Life. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
The Manual of American Water-Works. 1889-90. Engineering News Publishing Co.
The Wider Hope. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Thomas, C. The Cherokees in Pre-Columbian Times. N. D. C. Hodges.
Thomas, Julia M. Miscellaneous Writings. John W. Lovell Co.
Thomson, J. Mungo Park and the Niger. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Thompson, Rev. H. M. The World and the Man. Thomas Whitaker. $1.25.
Thruston, G. P. Antiquities of Tennessee and the Adjacent States. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $4.
Tiffany, F. Life of Dorothea Lynde Dix. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Tovey, D. C. Gray and his Friends: Letters and Relics. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.
Townsend, G. A. The Entailed Hat. New ed. Harper & Bros.
Van Buren, Col. G. M. Abraham Lincoln's Pen and Voice: A Compilation. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1.50.
Van Dyke, H. J. The Church: Her Ministry and Sacraments. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.50.
Ver-Plank, Mrs. J. The Wonder Light. New York: *The Path*.
Walford, L. B. The Havoc of a Smile. John W. Lovell Co. 25 cents.
Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language. Springfield, Mass.: G. & C. Merriam & Co.
Weeden, W. B. Economic and Social History of New England (1620–1789). 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $4.50.
Wesselhoeft, Lily F. The Winds, the Woods, and the Wanderer. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.25.
White, Sallie Joy. Cookery in the Public Schools. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. 75 cents.
Whitley, Beatrice. Part of the Property. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
Whitney, Mrs. A. D. T. Ascutney Street. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Williams, M. Leaves of a Life. 14th thousand. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Zoe. Boston: Roberts Bros. 60 cents.

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THE GRANT MONUMENT.

THE drawings offered in competition for the Grant Monument by Messrs. Carrère & Hastings, Mr. Charles W. Clinton, Mr. John H. Duncan, the Messrs. Le Brun, and Mr. John Ord are on exhibition at the Ortgies Gallery in Fifth Avenue. It is altogether proper that such an exhibition should be held, but it would be more useful, perhaps, if the final decision were still to be made. No doubt, however, much volunteered good advice and many troublesome suggestions would be offered in that case, from which the Committee saves itself by not showing the designs until one had been decided on, and no doubt the Committee fully believe that they are in no need of such assistance.

The design of Messrs. Carrère & Hastings is a study of a character already familiar to those architects—a study of elaborate approaches and mass rising behind mass, in long succession. A huge semicircular colonnade and its portico lead, by a doorway in the middle of the convex side, to a porch, and this to a square building covered with a low dome, and forming, with its two porches and two apses, something like a Greek cross. This leads, on the side opposite the entrance, to a very lofty and massive tower. The difficulty of succeeding in such an effort as this is not to be forgotten. The impossibility of showing the design properly without a bird's-eye view, or else a series of perspective views, must be considered; but still it cannot be believed that the effect would be altogether happy. The design for the cathedral and its appendages and approaches, as shown by the same architects at the Architectural League Exhibition last winter, was certainly more successful, perhaps only because more matured, more carefully worked out.

Mr. Clinton's design is of a very simple circular building, like a temple of Vesta, with a colonnade surrounding a cylindrical *cella*, but crowned by a second story also circular and much smaller in diameter—a kind of open cupola. The whole structure seems much smaller than it really is. Even after examination and after study of the Pantheon-like ground-plan, and after gaining a "realizing sense" of the colossal size of the lower order of columns, the edifice still appears to the eye a slight and delicate garden pavilion. In some respects this is the best design exhibited; but the serious character of the above-named fault cannot be denied.

Mr. Duncan's design is announced as the successful one. It consists of a square hall having four porticos (of which one projects like an apse), and a cylindrical drum surmounting the nearly cubical lower structure, surmounted in its turn by a cone formed of steps, and, at top, a *quadriga*. The general appearance, then, is that of a round and cone-topped tomb of the Roman imperial epoch, such as was that of Cæcilia Metella or the great mausoleum of Hadrian, set upon a square basement of overwhelming size. The idea is not fortunate. The two structures are rather too visibly separate, for the cylinder and cone do not form a good roof or superstructure to the cube, nor does the cube lend itself at all well to the service of a pedestal for the cylinder and cone. This, which would be palpable to all in a perspective view, or in execution, the geometrical "elevation" partly conceals. The interior effects would be much happier. A great square hall opens into the four porticos, of which three, indeed, are closed by screen-walls between the columns, though still allowing light to pour freely in. Beneath this, on the side of the semicircular or apse-like portico, is a crypt, which, as a place for the sarcophagus, is well imagined. The details of this design are not very agreeable. The great columns, Grecian Doric in their general character, hardly agree with the Roman look of the whole mass: they have no virtue but ponderous solidity. The entablatures which stripe the building horizontally are very far from decorative. Grace, indeed, and harmony of parts are not to be found in the exterior, which it would not be unfair to call clumsy.

The design of Messrs. Le Brun offers a large drum crowned by a dome, and having four rectangular porticos. The dome is light and high, as compared with what we know of Roman work, and yet the building is generally Roman in character; it is as if an architect of Marcus Aurelius's time had tried to design a dome as showy outside as that of the Pantheon is within. The details are hardly as graceful as those of Mr. Clinton's design, and yet, on the whole, this one is to be preferred to it, and therefore, we think, to all the others.

Mr. Ord's design provides a huge square tower, having a dome flanked by minor towers rising from the main mass, which itself is surrounded by four apses with semi-domes low in proportion to the main structure. It is not fortunate in detail or in proportion. The large bas-reliefs seem to us incredibly inappropriate and in bad taste; in one is seen Grant as "the guest of the world," surrounded by recognizable sovereign and ruling personages, he *primus inter pares*—a position his simplicity would hardly have rejoiced in.

Among Mr. Duncan's drawings is one which shows in an odd way the discrepancy between the gigantic ideas entertained by the Committee and the existing state of things. It appears that the funds already subscribed would allow of building one of the four sides of the proposed great central hall, but only to about half its height, and, with this, the apse-like projection on that side, and the whole crypt. The design for this small instalment is very clever; the details, which are to be parts of a stupendous whole, are still seen to be available as parts of a very small separate entity; and it appears that the Grant tomb, if it never should grow any bigger than as shown here, would be at least as good architecturally as if the whole design were realized. This smaller structure seems to contain at most three-tenths of the whole, if the whole foundation is supposed to be put in, or about one-fifth of the whole if this is not done.

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